

**PLANTATION AND PARISH LIBRARIES
IN THE
OLD SOUTH**

By

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Volume I

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A thesis

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INTRODUCTION

The English village type of settlement was brought over to Virginia by the first colonies but it did not long survive. The success of John Rolfe's experiment in tobacco culture soon convinced the newcomers that their hope of economic well-being was to be found in agricultural pursuits. Despite King James' disapproval of what a writer later termed "the sot-weed," it was much in demand in Europe. Large returns were realized from tobacco growing and it soon became the staple crop in Virginia and Maryland. The presence of many navigable streams and the abundance of fertile soil necessary for tobacco raising, caused the settlement to spread over a comparatively large area. Since ships came into the different rivers to receive tobacco and to unload merchandise, the planter came to deal directly with European traders and merchants. Thus, with this external aid, the plantation tended to become a self-sufficient unit, and towns were found generally unnecessary except as the seat of government. For this reason towns were the exception, and rural life was the general rule in Maryland and Virginia for a long period of time.

The plantation system also prevailed in the Carolinas although the commodities produced there were different. Some tobacco was raised in North Carolina, but the poor quality of much of the soil prevented its extensive culture. In South Carolina rice and indigo were the leading crops.

The former was grown in such low unhealthy places that planters were unwilling to have their families live upon the plantations. For this reason Charleston developed into a town of importance, although it was dominated by the planter class.

The use of servile labor upon the plantations soon became prevalent. The indentured white servant was used to a considerable extent in Virginia and Maryland for a long period of time, but this system of labor was not adapted to the hot, moist rice plantations in South Carolina. Negroes were necessary there for they could better withstand the climate. In time black labor also supplanted the white indentured servants in Virginia and Maryland. As the number of servants, bond or free, increased, the planters were relieved of the necessity of performing manual labor. Their principal task then became the management of the plantation and the oversight of the laborers. This left more leisure time for the planter to devote to other activities.

Some planters used their leisure for pleasurable indulgences, such as horse-racing and cock-fighting. Others were not wholly, and some not at all, turned aside by the lure of these frivolities, but devoted their time to gentler pursuits. Book collecting, reading and writing became diversions and avocations, and it is with those that this study is chiefly concerned.

During the early part of the seventeenth century there were several writers among the settlers. As these men pass-

ed from the scene, and the work of clearing the wilderness and raising tobacco was extended, ambitious men had neither time nor inclination for authorship. Many possessed a few books, however, for devotional or utilitarian use. The latter were principally medical treatises necessary in the absence of physicians.

As the seventeenth century waned, book collections among the planters increased in size and diversity of subject matter. Interest in libraries was stimulated by the Reverend Thomas Bray, about 1700, when his plan for establishing parochial libraries for clergy and laymen in the colonies was executed. Plantation libraries increased in number and size as the eighteenth century advanced, and greater interest in diversified reading became evident. The Byrd collection at Westover was enlarged steadily from year to year. Its versatile owner, Colonel William Byrd II, extended the use of this library to other Virginia writers as Robert Beverley and the Reverend William Stith.

Printers and booksellers in Pennsylvania and in the South supplemented the supply of reading material which had come almost exclusively from Europe before 1730. Europe continued to be the principal source of supply for many of the important plantation families, such as the Pinckneys of South Carolina, the Carrolls of Maryland, and Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, in Virginia. Jefferson and Madison were profound students, and read widely, as their writings reveal. Jefferson was a consistent book buyer,

assembling three important libraries during his lifetime. One of these, numbering nearly seven thousand volumes, was purchased by the United States Government as a foundation for the new Library of Congress in 1815.

Chapter I

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PLANTER AND HIS BOOKS

The first known reference to the presence of a book in English North America is found in a tragic setting. Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from Plymouth, England, in 1583, to establish a colony in the New World. The company landed on the inhospitable shores of New Foundland but sickness soon caused the colonizing attempt to be abandoned. The small ship, commanded by Gilbert, foundered off the coast of New Foundland. When the vessel was last seen, the commander of the expedition was sitting in the stern with a book in his hand, encouraging his followers.¹

Undaunted by the failure of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's attempt, his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, sent a company to America three years later. The company settled along the coast of what later became North Carolina, where the mild climate and the rich soil made conditions more favorable for occupation. Accompanying the expedition was John White, an artist, whom the queen directed to portray the figures and costumes of some of the natives. Theodore de Bry and Thomas Hariot were sent to observe and write an account of the country and its inhabitants. The latter, in one of his narratives concerning the customs and habits of the natives, stated that the Indians were much astounded at the sight of some of the white men's possessions such as

compasses, clocks, guns, and books.² It was evident from this statement that books were carried by Raleigh's expedition to the wilds of America and were to be found in the South over twenty years before the establishment of Jamestown. No records have survived concerning the nature of these books although it is possible that they were religious works as this type of reading material was commonly carried by the colonists. The ultimate fate of these early Carolina books has not been ascertained. They may have been carried to England when Sir Francis Drake took back the first settlers, or they may have remained on Roanoke Island to be lost, like the second group of settlers, in the deep mystery of a continent then unopened to men who read books.

The conversion of the Indians was one of the minor motives for the establishment of English colonies in the New World. A clergyman of the Church of England accompanied the first permanent settlers in Virginia to minister to their spiritual needs and to carry Christianity to the natives. The Reverend Robert Hunt, first Anglican clergyman, was highly esteemed by the residents of Jamestown. He had been Vicar of Reculver and Vicar of Heathfield in England and brought his library with him.³ Unfortunately, however, these books were soon lost in a disastrous fire that broke out in the village.⁴

Another early settler in Jamestown who possessed books was Edward Maria Wingfield, son of Sir Thomas Wingfield. He was the first president of the Council. There was con-

siderable dissatisfaction with his administration, and this resulted in his removal in September, 1607. The cause of Wingfield's deposition was his attempt to flee from the colony after Captain Newport's return to England. Wingfield and George Kendall were accused of plotting to seize the ship left for the use of the colony.⁵ The latter was tried for treason, convicted, and shot. Books were a part of the possessions seized from Wingfield and he later contended that they had never been returned.⁶ Not only was Wingfield suspected of plotting against the welfare of the colony, but he was also accused of being an atheist. The basis for this charge was the fact that Wingfield had not brought a Bible with him to Virginia. In reply to his accusers he stated that he had sorted many books to bring with him to Virginia, among them a Bible, but that it, along with others he had missed, had been mislaid by his servants or stolen from his trunk before leaving England.⁷ This testimony plainly indicated that at least some of the colonists were enough concerned about books to pack them for the journey to the New World. No doubt there were others among the first settlers of Jamestown who possessed books, but the Reverend Mr. Hunt and Edward Wingfield were the only persons of whose libraries records have survived.

Immediately after the establishment of Jamestown, the people in both Virginia and England became interested in organizing educational institutions in the colony. As part of the plan to Christianize the Indians, the establishment

of a school system was proposed. A college was considered a necessary part of this educational program, and arrangements were developed looking toward the erection of an institution of higher learning to be known as the College of Henrico. Donations were accepted for the proposed college and plans were well under way by 1620 for its establishment. On November 15, of that same year, when the Quarter Court of the Virginia Company of London was in session "a stranger stept in presentinge a Mapp of s^r Walter Rawlighes conteyninge a Description of Guiana, and wth the same fower great books as the gifte of one vnto the Company that desyred his name might not be made knowne, whereof one book was a treatise of s^{tt} Augustine, of the Citty of God translated into English the other three greate Volumes war the works of M^r Perkins newlie corrected and amended, w^{ch} books the Donor desyred they might be sent to the Colledge in Virginia there to remayne in safftie to the vse of the Collegiates hereafter, and not suffered att any time to be sent abroad, or used in the meane while."⁹ On January 30, 1622, the same donor again gave four books for the use of the college in Virginia. The later donation consisted of a large church Bible, the Book of Common Prayers, a small Bible "richly imbroydered" and a book of Catechisms by Zacharias Ursinus.¹⁰ The Reverend Thomas Bargeave, who, with Mr. Ward, established a plantation on the south banks of the James River in 1619, was much interested in the proposed college at Henrico. Bargeave did not long survive and at the time of his death, in 1621, bequeathed

his library, reputed to have been valued at one hundred marks or seventy pounds, to the projected college.¹¹ Plans went forward toward the organization of the institution of higher learning but the massacre of 1622 ended all hopes of a college for the time being. The fate of the books donated to the College of Henrico is unknown but it is altogether probable that most of them disappeared in the conflagration and destruction accompanying the Indian uprising. Edward D. Neill contended that the "One Great Book of Mr Perkins" found among Claiborne's goods seized by Lord Baltimore's agents at Palmer's Island in 1637, may have been one of the books presented at the meeting of the Virginia Company in 1620 for the use of the college at Henrico.¹²

Apparently some reading was done along the banks of the James River and even authorship was not unknown there. John Smith, in 1608, wrote his True Relation while yet in Virginia. Some of Smith's contemporaries also were busily engaged in recording their impressions of the new settlement and their opinions concerning its management. George Percy's Plantations of the Southern Colonie in Virginia by the English, Christopher Newport's Discoveries in America and Edward Maria Wingfield's A Discourse of Virginia were early writings concerning affairs in Virginia by men who had been in that colony.¹³ William Strachey was another of the early Virginians whose account of the wreck of Sir Thomas Gates' expedition upon the shores of the Bermudas was credited with being the inspiration for Shakespeare's play The Tempest.¹⁴

In 1619 arrived John Pory to assume the duties of Secretary of the Colony.¹⁵ He was unaccustomed to the solitude of the wilderness and turned to books and writing for companionship. In a letter, written in 1619, to his friend Sir Dudley Carleton in England, Pory stated that the best means of employing his time was "Nexte after my penne, to have some good booke always in store."¹⁶ He also found time to make friends with the Indians as, in 1621, while voyaging with a party up the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River, Pory met an Indian king to whom he read from the Bible the account of Adam and Eve. The Indian seemed much impressed and remarked that like Adam, he had never had but one wife at one time.¹⁷ George Sandys, who succeeded Pory as Secretary of the Colony, had been educated in England. He was a classical scholar and while in Virginia engaged in the translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Sandys, absorbed in writing, disregarded the bickering and turmoil among the colonists. In a letter to Samuel Wrote, of London, dated March 28, 1623, Sandys stated: "Yet amongst the roaring of the seas, the rustling of the shrowdes and clamour of Saylers I translated two bookees and will perhaps when the sweltering heat of the day confines me to my Chamber give a further assaye." Such energy and concentration made possible the publication of the translation of fifteen books of Ovid's Metamorphoses three years later. Sandys' work evoked much favorable comment among English scholars and won for him the approbation of King Charles I.¹⁸

Both laymen and clergy possessed libraries in early Virginia, and those books which were not destroyed by fire or Indians, remained available to the people. Surviving records indicate that some of the deceased ministers left libraries which were used by their successors. When the Reverend Thomas White was sent to Virginia in 1621, his passage was to be paid by the parish and he was to supply himself with books "out of the libraries of so many that have died."¹⁹ Another of the early ministers who possessed books was the Reverend Richard Buck. He arrived at Jamestown in 1610 and served as a pastor until the time of his death, about 1624.²⁰ Part of his estate consisted of a library which was appraised when the estate was settled in April, 1626.²¹ None of the titles of the books was included in the appraisal. An indication that ministers possessed books and made use of them was the fact that upon the organization of the parish in Accomac and the building of a parsonage for the Reverend Mr. Cotton, in 1635, a separate room was set aside for a "study." This William Cotton was evidently a scholar, as John Holloway, a physician, bequeathed to him a Greek Testament.²² In the same year that the parsonage was built in Accomac, the Reverend John Goodborne sailed for Virginia from England in the Globe. He died before reaching his destination and his possessions were delivered to William Barker by Jeremy Blackman, the master of the Globe. Barker placed the goods in a storehouse in Virginia and returned with Blackman to England. After their

arrival in England, they were sued in the High Court of Admiralty by Peter Goodborne, father of the deceased minister, and a judgment for the value of the goods was obtained. An itemized list of John Goodborne's books was attached to the court record showing the type of reading material that was carried to Virginia by the clergy during the early colonial period. As was to be expected of a clergyman's library, most of the books were concerned with religion and theology. There were many works concerning the Bible such as P. Martir's Commentaries on Kings, Judges Samuell, Corinthians and Romans; Lavenant on Colossians; Byfield on Colossians; and Wilson on Romans. The works of some of the New England divines were included. Chief among these was Cotton's Concordance. "Hooker's Ecclesiastical policy," (probably meant for Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity), was listed. Many books in Latin were included, together with two Greek Testaments. Part of the library consisted of non-religious works, as, Plutarch's Lives, Willson's dictionary and some books upon medicine and mathematics. Each book was listed by title and value. The total value of the library was £32 16s. 6d., a considerable amount for that period. The ultimate fate of the library was not recorded but presumably it was carried back to England and restored to the possession of Goodborne, senior.

That Virginia laymen, as well as the clergy, read religious writings is shown by the list of books included in the inventories of estates. There was some reading of his-

tory, travel, and plays. Purchas his Pilgrimages, Smith's The Generall Historie of Virginia, Strachey's True Repertory and the works of Shakespeare were read to some extent. One piece of evidence that English dramas were read by early Virginians was the fact that Jordan, of Jordan's Point, named his house "Beggar's Bush" after the play by Fletcher.²⁴ The records of lower Norfolk County have furnished some interesting information concerning the type of books possessed during the seventeenth century. In the inventory of the estate of John Lanckfield, filed in October, 1640, was included a Bible, a Testament, and "a practis of pietie." Bibles varied in value owing to differences in size and condition. Henry Walter's Bible was invoiced at forty pounds of tobacco in 1646, while Robert Glascock's Bible and sermon book, the same year, were worth only twenty pounds of tobacco. The inventories for the year 1648 include some fairly comprehensive lists of books.²⁵ John Kemp's library, invoiced that year, was an extensive collection consisting of books upon medicine, law and divinity, valued at seven hundred pounds of tobacco. The medical books were The Surgeon's Mate, Barrowes Method of Physic, The Regiment of Health, and Aristotle's Problems. Next on the inventory were "five Divinity books: viz^t a small bible Mr Calvins Institutions ye practice of piety ye true watch Christs Combat with Satan the effectual calling" valued at two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco. Some unnamed small books of little value, Pastall's Abridgement of the Statutes, and a part of The

Court Baron and Leet made up the remainder of the Kemp library.²⁶

On the north side of the James River in York County, libraries were also much in evidence during the fifth decade of the seventeenth century. Ralph Watson, clerk, whose inventory was filed in January, 1645, possessed thirty books in folio and about fifty books in quarto. No titles were listed and no description of the library has survived except the brief notation in the inventory that most of the folio volumes were by old authors and most of those in quarto were "latten bookes." Three other York County inventories for the year 1645, containing lists of books, have been recorded. Richard Winne possessed four very old books, while the number of volumes left by the deceased minister, George Hopkins, has not been revealed. The six little books of William Kellaway were valued at one hundred pounds of tobacco, and his entire estate at 3520 pounds of tobacco. In 1648 Thomas Leason of York County possessed a Bible, The Practice of Piety, a Testament, and "a small peell of other bookes all old" valued at sixty pounds of tobacco.²⁷

The first books in Maryland were those required for religious worship. These were found at Claiborne's settlement on Kent Island where, in 1632, there were Bibles and books of prayer imported for the use of the Anglican Church services. The following year the Reverend Richard James, first resident clergyman in Maryland, settled at Kent Island and conducted services for Claiborne and his men until 1635.²⁸

As early as 1638 books began to be included in the inventories of the estates of deceased persons in Maryland. John Bryant's inventory which listed the unusual item of "5 shirts and a halfe shirt" valued at forty pounds of tobacco, also included "a booke" worth only one pound of tobacco.²⁹ Although Richard Loe's inventory, filed the same year, listed one book, it was more valuable as the appraised price was twenty pounds of tobacco.³⁰ In fact Loe's one book was estimated as worth more than the seven books enumerated in the estate of Zachary Mottershead, of St. Mary, filed the same year.³¹ The inventory of Thomas Cullamore was more comprehensive as it indicated the actual value of the items and the price of tobacco per pound. At the established selling price of 3 pence per pound, the three printed books and a paper book were valued at one pound sterling.³² Among the goods seized from Claiborne on Palmer's Island in 1638 were a statute book and the one "great booke of mr Perkins" heretofore mentioned.³³ No indication of the economic or social status of these men has been left except the brief statement contained in the inventory that they were 'gentlemen' or 'planter.'

Little information has survived concerning the type of books owned by residents of Maryland before 1640. In that year the appraisal of Henry Cawlie's estate definitely stated that one of the books was a Bible valued at forty pounds of tobacco.³⁴ Some of the later inventories give more specific information concerning the printed works left by the

deceased. In 1642 the estate of Mr. Thomas Adams contained "1 testament 1 small book of presidents, 2 small books in french and 1 book of dispute concerning religion" at his plantation, and a prayer book and a "counting" book in a shallop anchored near the house of Thomas Butler. Thus, Adams not only had religious reading material at his plantation, but also showed his devotion by carrying the Prayer Book upon his voyages. These collections were considered worthy of note but probably the most valuable library recorded in Maryland before 1650 was that belonging to Giles Brent, on Kent Island. Trouble developed between Brent and the trader, Richard Ingle. Ingle seized goods belonging to Brent in 1644 and 1645 and the latter brought suit for the recovery of damages. An itemized list of the goods seized by Ingle included "one ffaire Library of Bookes" valued at £150.³⁵ No indication of the number or nature of the works was recorded.

The early settlers in Maryland did not turn their attention to authorship to the same extent as did the early inhabitants of Jamestown. There is some evidence, however, of early writing by the priests of St. Marys. The first writer in Maryland was Father Andrew White. He was much interested in carrying Christianity to the Indians and to accomplish this he wrote a grammar and a dictionary of the Indian language, and also a catechism for the Indians. These books were of much value to the later missionaries among the natives. Father White also wrote A History of Maryland and A History of His Voyage to Maryland. These were completed in the decade between

1635 and 1645.³⁶ Other authors of importance did not appear in this colony during the first half of the seventeenth century.

In Virginia the demand for, and the evidence of, books increased steadily throughout the period between 1650 and 1700. Many of the book collections were small and of little value as, for example, "a pcell of old books all in pecis" left by Thomas Casson whose estate was appraised in 1652.³⁷ The clerks in Virginia were more highly educated men if ownership of larger libraries could be used as a criterion in that regard. One of the larger libraries in Virginia before 1650 was that of Ralph Watson, Clerk of York County, as was previously mentioned. Robert Powes, Clerk of Norfolk County, whose estate was appraised in 1652, possessed thirty-two books, the names and value of which were not listed.³⁸ The following year Virginia was made one of the beneficiaries of the will of Michael Sparks, stationer of London. He gave to the Old Dominion and Barbadoes one hundred copies each of a doleful tract: "the Second part of Crums of Comfort with groanes of the Spirite and Hankerchieffes of wet eyes, ready bound to be distributed amongst the poore children there that can read."³⁹

Some of the Virginians of that period were careful to bestow their books where they would be most appreciated and accomplish the most good. An instance of such a bequest was that of Dr. Henry Waldron who, in 1657, ordered that "all my Library and Bookes whatsoever in this country ... together

with my chests of physicall means" should be given to Captain Robert Ellyson, of James City County, who was also a physician.⁴⁰ About the same time William Burdas, of Lower Norfolk County, bequeathed to his friends copies of the English Physician, the Practice of Physic, the Dispenser, and Thoughts on Surgery.⁴¹ At a time when physicians were none too numerous, such gifts were of great value as many had only the printed page for medical directions when illness made its appearance in the home. Another seventeenth century physician who possessed numerous books was Dr. George Hacke, a German, who died in Northampton County, Virginia, about 1664. The will specifically enumerated ninety-six books in German, Latin, and English. The inventory also included a parcel of old books of unknown quantity, so that it was more than probable that the library consisted of over one hundred volumes. It was appraised at 1280 pounds of tobacco. With the exception of one English Bible, the title of none of the books was listed.⁴²

In 1667 Richard Russell, a Quaker, who resided on Elizabeth River in Lower Norfolk County, made some very specific bequests of books to his friends. Richard Yates was given Lyon's Flays; John Porter and John Porter, Junior, received sixteen books, while William and Katherine Greene were bequeathed five books. Anna Godby was given two books, while other friends of Russell - Sarah Iyer, John Abell, and Richard Lawrence, - received one volume each. Russell was not only interested in distributing reading material, but he was also concerned with the advancement of education. In his

will be provided that "for the other pte of my Estate, I give and bequeath one pte. of it unto Six of the poorest mens Children in Elizabeth River to pay for their schooling to read & after these six are entered then if six more comes, I give a pte. also to enter them in like manner.⁴³

A book entitled The Young Artillery Man was left by Captain Thomas Browne in 1670, indicating that some reading was done in military science. In the following year a small parcel of books was included in the inventory of Captain John Lawrence, while a collection of French, Dutch, Latin, and English books, owned by Captain William Moseley, was valued at three thousand pounds of tobacco.⁴⁴

The library of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Willoughby, appraised in 1672, was not valued as highly as that of Captain Moseley of the previous year. It was larger than most of the book collections of that period, however, since the inventory listed it as worth fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco. Less than two years later Mrs. Sarah Willoughby left a comprehensive collection of books including "A large bible in fo, the turkish history, the life of Lewes the 13th ... Ju^r Sends his travells, Riders dictionary, ... directions for planting mulberry trees, the soules progreeste to the Celestiall Canaan ..., the Essays of the lord Mountague, the Seamens Callander ... The birth of Mankind or the womans book, a grammar, ... a latten Bible, 2 testaments, propositions of warre and peace, ... Esops fables ... trigonometry or the doctrine of triangles ... two books of Ovids metamorphosis, 3 small

latten booke, Virg^{is} or the South Part thereof, the destruction of babilon ... [and] the History of animalls & minerals."⁴⁵ The titles in the Willoughby library reflect the reading interests of Virginia during the latter half of the seventeenth century. There were historical, classical, and scientific works, although the greater emphasis was upon religion. The treatise upon the planting of mulberry trees recalls Governor Berkeley's efforts to promote the silk-growing industry in Virginia. "The birth of mankind or the woman's booke" may have been some sort of guidance for midwives. No information was given concerning the book upon Virginia but its presence in the library reflected an interest in local history even during that early period.

Although the majority of the libraries noted were from the three counties of York, Lower Norfolk, and Northampton, ample evidence has been left showing that books were present in other counties of Virginia during the seventeenth century. In Isle of Wight County, Kirby Kigan bequeathed all of his books to Robert Cowfield along with his rapier and fowling piece in 1657.⁴⁶ In 1678 John Jenkins, of the same county, stated in his will that "I do give and bequeath my whole library of Bookes to my sonn."⁴⁷ No further information concerning the number of volumes or the titles of either collection of books was given. That of Mr. Jenkin's must have been of some importance, however, or it would not likely have been designated as a library in the will. The will of Laurence Washington, of Appahannock County, drawn about

1675, stipulated that all of his books were to be delivered to his son John as soon as he became of age.⁴⁸ An important collection of books on the Eastern Shore during the seventeenth century was that of Colonel Southey Littleton. The inventory of his estate, filed in Accomac County in January, 1680, included religious works, Aesop's Fables in Latin, The Body of the Common Law, The London Dispensatory, the printed laws of Virginia, The History of the New England Wars, The Doctrine of Triangles, and a map. Colonel Littleton came from a prominent English family that had emigrated to Virginia about 1635. Colonel Nathaniel Littleton, the father of Southey Littleton, was said to have been a brother of Edward Littleton, the Lord Chief Justice of England. The elder Littleton had been a member of the Council and one of the most influential men on the Eastern Shore.⁴⁹ Although there were some legal works in the library of Southey Littleton, the number was not as large as might be expected of one with family connections so notably related to legal affairs.

At the time of Bacon's Rebellion much property was destroyed, and it is entirely feasible to believe that books perished in the flames that burned Jamestown. Although many of Bacon's men were pardoned after his death, some were executed as rebels. One of those who suffered death for participation in the uprising was Thomas Hansford. In 1679 an inventory of his estate was made which included "a peell of old bookes."⁵⁰

An Eastern Shore library of interest, because of the

unique method of its disposal, was that of Francis Pigott. The will, dated 1684, devised his collection of books to his three sons, to be divided among them when the youngest reached his majority. The works in Greek and Latin were excepted from this general provision, however, as they were bequeathed to the eldest son, who was also to retain all of the books in his possession until the time for the division. The younger sons, before reaching the age when they could claim their share of the library, were permitted to borrow books on the condition that they would leave a note expressing their willingness to return any volume when the older brother wished to use it.⁵¹ Thus, it was in reality a lending library for family use. No indication concerning the number, titles, or value of the collection, has survived but one might assume from such consideration that it was of some importance.

One of the most pretentious Virginia libraries of the seventeenth century was that of Colonel John Carter, of Lancaster County. An itemized list of his books was included in the inventory of 1690. It was a comprehensive collection showing the wide interests of its owner. Some of the volumes were: Plutarch's Lives; Bacon's Natural History; Markham on The Country Farmer; Homer's Iliad; Ovid's Epistles in English Verse; Culpeper's Dispensatory; Ambrose Parry's Chirurgery; Virgory's Chirurgery; Wyrtrung's Practice of Physic; Crooke's Anatomy; Of the Birth of Mankind; Cleopatra a Romance; Barritt's Military Discipline; and a number of religious

works.⁵² This library represents the usual emphasis upon the treatment of diseases and the practice of midwifery. There was manifest in the Carter Library an interest in the classics, romance, and agriculture. Of especial significance was the fact that Colonel Carter possessed one volume upon military matters and at least eighteen religious titles, indicating the contemporary emphasis upon spiritual rather than military matters.

The library of Samuel Ball of Lower Norfolk County, listed in 1690, was one of importance. There were one hundred and sixteen books possessing a total value of nearly eighteen hundred pounds of tobacco. None of the titles was mentioned although the statement was made that all of the books were in English and Latin. The only other information was in regard to the size and the binding. Each executor was given his choice of one book for his trouble in helping settle the estate, a fact that suggests the regard in which a single volume was held.⁵³ The inventory of the estate of Captain Arthur Spicer in 1699 included over one hundred titles of books revealing the presence of more legal works in his possession than any other planter in the seventeenth century.⁵⁴

One of the difficulties encountered by the Anglican Church in the southern colonies was the dearth of aggressive ministers. Many of the clergy who did come to America and proved their worth were recalled to England to fill some important clerical position. This tended to weaken the established church and made easier the spread of dissenting

sects and, in spite of the attempts of the authorities to suppress these, especially the Quakers, they continued to increase in numbers. Pamphlets and books were important means of spreading dissenting doctrines, a fact quickly grasped and exploited by the Quakers. In January, 1697, the Friends in Virginia sent to England for the yearly 'Epistles' of their society, for George Fox's Journals with the Preface by William Penn, and other books.⁵⁵

Although Governor Berkeley had expressed his opposition to popular education and printing in his report of 1671, he was concerned with improving the standards of the Virginia courts.⁵⁶ An act was passed in October, 1666, requiring that "all the former statutes at large and those made since the beginning of the raigne of his sacred majestie that now is and a few other approved bookees of law should be purchased." In addition, copies of Dalton's Justice of the Peace and Swinburne's Wills and Testaments, for the use of the general assembly and the county courts, were to be purchased out of the two shillings per hogshedd tax upon tobacco and the county levies.⁵⁷ Again in 1693, after Sir Francis Nicholson became Governor of Virginia, the Council ordered books to the value of £16 9s. although no indication was given concerning the number or the titles of the works.⁵⁸ Unlike Berkeley, Sir Francis Nicholson was a staunch supporter of education in Virginia. He did yeoman service in assisting in the founding of William and Mary College. By 1694 the erection of the college was well advanced and in that year there was

included in the building account an expenditure of £32 11s. 10d. for books, maps and papers, and £1 10s. for Bloome's History of the Bible.⁵⁹ The latter purchase indicated that the founders had regard for the instructions that the college was to be "a seminary of ministers of the Gospel where youths may be piously educated."⁶⁰ Two years later a statement was made concerning the private library of Governor Nicholson. The catalogue which he had at that time showed over two hundred titles in religion, science, gardening, commerce, travel, and other branches of knowledge.⁶¹

One of the first estates appraised in Maryland during the last half of the seventeenth century was that of John Stringer, carpenter. When the inventory of the property was made in 1668, four books were listed as valued at fifty pounds of tobacco.⁶² An inventory of John Demall's property, made four years later and valued at only eight hundred and sixty pounds of tobacco, included "some Bookes," indicating that artisans and men of small means might own a few volumes of reading material.⁶³ The book collection of Thomas Hill, of Kent County, appraised the same year, was of more importance as it was listed at three hundred pounds of tobacco and dignified by the title 'library.'⁶⁴

On the Eastern shore of Maryland books were found during the seventeenth century. The will of Captain Robert Vaughn, filed in 1668, included a library among his personal property and showed him to be a man of some education and culture.⁶⁵ Another prominent inhabitant of that locality

was Captain Joseph Wicke's whose inventory, made in 1693, showed that part of the dining room was used as a repository for books. On the wall of this room hung a chart bearing the title "A Map of Man's Morality." The book collection contained thirty-eight volumes upon religion, law, history, and medicine. Some of the titles were Newman's Concordance of the Bible; Martin Luther's Commentary upon the Galatians; The Complete Attorney; Boulton's Abridgement of the Statutes; General History of the Netherlands; and Culpepper's The English Physician. Wicke had been one of the Justices of Kent County so that his legal works were probably often consulted.⁶⁶

Owing to the fact that the colonization of the Carolinas did not begin until 1650, books were not found there in abundance during the seventeenth century. There is evidence of some reading material. Books appeared in North Carolina as early as 1677, when Thomas Miller, collector of the customs, complained to the Commissioners of the Treasury in England concerning the seizure of his property in the uprising led by Culpepper and others. Miller contended that he had been arrested by these men and that his books and other goods had been seized.⁶⁷ Evidently Miller regarded his books very highly as they were mentioned separately in the petition while all of his other personal possessions were included together under the term 'goods.' At a court session held in November, 1693, John Hunt petitioned that Mrs. Ann Lurant be compelled to "deliv^r" all Books paper and writings belonging

to the estate of M^r W^m Terrell Deceased." Hunt was the executor and desired to settle the estate.⁶⁸ The reference in the petition to the writings of Terrell indicates that that person might have been the author of some unpublished manuscripts.

One of the first evidences of reading material in South Carolina was "one box of books" shipped by Richard Kingdon from London in 1671. The books, together with the other merchandise, were consigned to Joseph West and received by him at Charleston on April 23d, 1672.⁶⁹ The will of Landgrave Morton of 1685 bequeathed "to sonn Joseph Morton, Assemblies Annotations in two volumes. Burges Spiritual refinings, Twise ag't Herd, Cambridge Concordance, Cariles eleven volumes on Job, Burges on Justification, Woodvire Body of Divinity, Cole on God's Sovereignty, Pearce his p'percon for Death." Morton's daughter, Deborah Blake, received an allotment even more other-worldly: Baxter's Everlasting Rest, Call to Repentance, At the Judgment Day, rules for Peace of Conscience, Crooke's Guide, Flavell's Saint Inaged, Watson's Divine Cordiall and Morcott's Of Baptism. Unnamed books were given to Joseph Morton.⁷⁰ The following year a Spanish expedition from Saint Augustine invaded South Carolina. The plantation of Paul Grimball, in Colleton County, was visited by the invaders and much property was destroyed. Included in the list of ravaged property were several books valued at £10; one large map of England, Scotland and Ireland, worth £2 10s. and one large map of Germany invoiced at £2 10s.⁷¹

The bequests made during the last decade of the seventeenth century continued to include books. In 1604 the will of Elisabeth Keeling, of Charleston, bequeathed her personal property, including a Bible, to her friend Mrs. Margaret Rivers, while Thomas Smith devised to his son George most of his property, including his surgical instruments and one-half of his books. No indication was given regarding the recipient of the remainder of the library.⁷² Such records in the Carolinas during the seventeenth century, although not as extensive as in Virginia and Maryland, are sufficient to indicate that reading was fairly common in those two young provinces.

In general, the evidence strongly supports the idea that books were fairly common, and the practice of reading rather prevalent. In the four Southern Colonies before 1700, several records have survived concerning the actual reading of books. The account of the tragic fate of Jacob Bradshaw, of Lower Norfolk County, in 1647, revealed that he "Received his death at the hands of God by lightning and thunder of Heaven, as he was lying on a chest and reading in a Booke."⁷³ A court action in the neighboring colony of Maryland, in 1664, indicates that the use of books was not uncommon among the rank and file of the people. Jope Livey, a cooper, and Arthur Nottool, a servant were charged with burglary and murder. Both were found guilty and the records of the trial indicate that each "Craves Benifitt of Clergy." Thereupon, when asked if they read, each replied in the affirmative.⁷⁴

Colonel William Fitzhugh, progenitor of that well known family in Virginia, made his books a theme of comment in the letters he wrote. In a missive to Richard Lee, written May 15, 1679, Fitzhugh regretted his inability to replace Lee's book as it was lost. He offered to pay for the lost article and also sent some information to Lee in answer to an inquiry regarding some old statutes.⁷⁵ In September of the same year a communication was addressed to Robert Beverley concerning legal terms and practices. Reference was made to works on law in French and Latin, and terms in the latter language were quoted.⁷⁶ It was evident that Colonel Fitzhugh did considerable writing, as well as reading, for he sent orders the following year by Captain Partis for two large paper books which were to contain about twenty-five quires of paper.⁷⁷ Five years later, Fitzhugh renewed acquaintance with his cousin William, a stationer of London, and referred to book purchases made there.⁷⁸ In 1700 Colonel Fitzhugh drew up his will, bequeathing his "study of books" to his sons, William and Henry. One map was given to his wife and another to the younger William.⁷⁹ The size of the library was not noted but it must have been of considerable significance as there existed a Fitzhugh bookplate, a possession usually found only among those who had collections of some importance.⁸⁰

The records concerning at least two hundred and fifty inhabitants of the seventeenth century colonial South who possessed books show that the size and value of the collections varied as much as the wealth and social position of

the possessors. Book owners ranged from poor artisans possessing one volume valued at one pound of tobacco to the Governor, and members of the Council, with a hundred volumes or more worth several thousand pounds of tobacco. The reading material had to do with the classics, and with medicine, law, and history. The chief emphasis, however, was upon religion. Many persons owned but one book: the Bible. An increased demand for books was evident after 1690. This was reflected in the larger supply of reading material which came into the Chesapeake colonies. That the Southern planter and clergyman indulged in 'heavy reading' is evidenced by the fact that the total weight of the shipments of printed works imported into Maryland and Virginia from England during the last year of the century amounted to over eleven thousand pounds.⁸¹ It is altogether probable that many of these books came as a result of the labors and petitions of the Reverend Thomas Bray, whose efforts and achievements are later to be noted.

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

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Chapter II

PARISH LIBRARIES AND THE WORK OF THE REVEREND THOMAS BRAY

Many of the early settlers in the South were devoted to the Established Church and brought to America the idea of close correlation between religious and civil affairs. The vestry managed both the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of the parish. The size of the plantations made necessary large parishes in order to secure a sufficient congregation for the support of a church and a minister. As in England, tracts of land, known as glebes, were set aside for the use of the minister to supplement his meager salary. Upon these glebes the parsonage and the church were located. Thus the domine became half-clergyman and half-planter.¹

The low salaries of the colonial ministers failed to attract able men who held positions in England. Those who emigrated were often young men of limited means, men unable to buy books and supplies. It was the effort to supply these ministers with reading matter that stimulated the growth of libraries in the South. Many books were possessed by certain clergy from the beginning of settlement. These clerical libraries were usually the private property of the minister, acquired in England, and brought over to the New World. The problem of furnishing books for poor young clergymen arose as early as 1621. Mr. Leat, who had been preaching in New Foundland, wished to transfer to Virginia. He was recommended by Mr. Almy, a merchant in London, who stated that the

young minister would not "put the Companie to any further charge, then onely to furnish him with necessaries and such books as shall be useful to him ... w^{ch} request the Court thought verie reasonable."² It is evident that ministers' books were often devised to the Church at the time of a pastor's death as instructions were issued in 1621 that poor young clergymen going to Virginia to preach could supply themselves with the necessary reading material from the libraries left by former clergymen.³

The problem of establishing Anglican Churches and ministers in Maryland, and securing books for their use, was more difficult during the seventeenth century owing to the presence and conflict of Dissenters and Catholics. The latter group offered much opposition to the spread of Anglicanism. In one instance in 1638 William Lewis, of St. Mary's, was accused of forbidding servants to read Protestant books.⁴ Four years later Dr. Thomas Gerrard, a prominent Catholic of the colony, was convicted of "Taking away the Key ... and carrying away the Books" from the Protestant chapel. The books and key were ordered returned and Gerrard was fined five hundred pounds of tobacco.⁵

The extension of Anglicanism in Maryland was handicapped by an insufficient supply of competent and adequately equipped clergymen. An indication of this was found in the communication sent to England in 1669 by the Reverend Matthew Hill of Charles County, Maryland. The Reverend Mr. Hill asked for assistance stating that "I have not the ability as yet of

purchasing such books as are usefull and necessary for my worke: I humbly beg of you that you will please to supply mee with a few of such as you judge meete for my use."⁶ Another plea was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1685 by Mary Taney, wife of the sheriff of Calvert County. Her petition stressed the need of a church and a minister in that particular community, adding that Bibles and other church books had been donated through the generosity of Charles II, some time before his death.⁷ Soon after the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England, the Maryland Assembly passed an "Act for ... the Establishment of the Protestant Religion in this Province." The growth of the Anglican Church in Maryland was greatly stimulated as the act provided for the assessment of a tax of forty pounds of tobacco upon each taxable person for the purpose of erecting churches and maintaining ministers.⁸

In Maryland during the latter half of the seventeenth century an inadequate supply of books continued as a handicap for successfully promoting anglicanism in many of the parishes. Requests for donations were frequently sent to England, and books often came in answer to the plea. Sir Francis Nicholson, on February 15, 1697, stated that he had received from the Archbishop of Canterbury several books, including copies of The Parson's Counsellor, A Guide for Constables, The Poor Man's Guide, and The Catechism of the Church.⁹ Suggestions were also made by some members of the Assembly, upon the recommendation of Governor Nicholson, "that some parte of the Revenue given

towards the furnishing the Country with Arms, etc. (now the Country is provided of such things) be layd out for small books, such as the Common Prayer book, Whole duty of Man, and Book ag^t Drunkenness and Swearing and to be distributed among the Common Sorte of people that are poor." The suggestion further asserted that since books of that kind had not been brought into the country to be sold, there was no opportunity for those of limited means to secure such highly desirable religious works unless the plan was adopted. Other members of the Assembly contended that the colony was not properly armed, but they did promise to support such measures when adequate protection had been assured.¹⁰ Although the proposal was not then adopted, it is worthy of note as being one of the few instances when suggestions were made to divert military funds for the purchase of books.

Protestants in Maryland believed that better results could be achieved in promoting the spread of Anglicanism if the affairs of the Clergy were under the supervision of one capable man. In 1695 the Governor and the General Assembly petitioned the King and Queen for the appointment of a Commissary to manage ecclesiastical affairs in the colony. It was asked that the Bishop of London be authorized to fill this position as the colonial church had been placed under his jurisdiction. The request was granted and the Reverend Thomas Bray was selected.¹¹ The appointee was a man well qualified for the task. Governor Nicholson was pleased with the arrangement and, in February, 1697, expressed his approval suggesting that

the Reverend Mr. Bray be made a doctor of divinity.¹² The degree recommended by Governor Nicholson was soon conferred as the House of Commons acknowledged "a petition of Thomas Bray, Doctor of Divinity," in March of the following year.¹³

Thomas Bray was born at Marton, England, in 1656. In 1675 he entered Oxford as a student of theology. After entering the ministry, he became the warm friend of Sir Thomas Price and Lord Digby. Through their influence he secured the Vicarage of Over Whitacre and later, in 1690, the Rectory of Sheldon. While at the latter place, he wrote a series of catechetical lectures which attracted considerable attention and were widely read. These proved to be highly profitable for the Reverend Mr. Bray as he cleared approximately seven hundred pounds from their sale.¹⁴ When the Bishop of London was asked to appoint a Commissary to manage ecclesiastical affairs in Maryland, the position was immediately offered to him. Before assuming his new duties, Bray entered upon a study of the conditions in the proposed field of labor. As a result of his study of Anglicanism in America, he learned that none but the indigent clergymen had been emigrating to the colonies. He noted that these ministers, with their limited financial resources, often were unable to purchase books for themselves.- Thereupon, Bray recommended to the Bishop of London that "A Library wou'd be the best encouragement to studious and Sober Men to go into the Service." The Reverend Mr. Bray consented to accept the office in Maryland on condition that the Bishop of London would provide parochial

libraries for ministers who should be sent to the colonies. This plan met with approval and the new Commissary, before embarking for Maryland, worked diligently to provide missionaries for America and to supply them with libraries. Some delay in his departure was occasioned by the fact that the law for the establishment of a Commissary in Maryland was vetoed in England. This necessitated some changes and the resubmission of the act for 'His Majesty's' assent.¹⁵

In the interim the Reverend Dr. Bray labored through the agencies of pulpit and pamphlet to stimulate interest in the propagation of the gospel. His views were clearly set forth in "An Essay Toward Promoting All Necessary and Useful Knowledge Both Divine and Human in all Parts of His Majesty's Dominions, Both at Home and Abroad." In a part of this essay he outlined his proposals concerning lending libraries in England and parochial libraries in the colonies. Recognizing the fact that many of the clergy were unable with their limited salaries to purchase the necessary books for themselves, plans were made for assistance in that regard. For the clergy in England, it was estimated that £30 would furnish a library of well-chosen books. Part of the necessary amount was to be donated by the ministers themselves and the remainder by the laymen. In order that the latter should profit by the presence of the book collections in their midst, provisions were made to allow the borrowing of books by subscribers. For their benefit works of history, geography and travel, were included in the libraries.¹⁶ It was expected that the purchase of books

in quantities would enable the buyer to obtain a substantial discount from the booksellers. Such "Gratis-Books" as the booksellers gave in consideration of the large orders received were to be set aside for the parochial libraries for use in the colonies. For every ten libraries purchased, it was estimated that enough books would be donated by the booksellers to make up a collection large enough for the use of one parish in America.¹⁷ It was provided that books intended for overseas shipment should be packed in specially prepared boxes which could be used for book-cases.

Books were to be safeguarded against loss as it was required that they be locked up in the cases by the clergyman in charge. The deanery, or parish, to which books belonged, was to be marked upon the cover of each volume. The lending of the books was to be in the hands of the clergyman or schoolmaster under whose charge the library was kept. The time for which books could be loaned in England was fixed at: a month for a folio, a fortnight for a quarto, and a week for an octavo volume. The procedure of lending was "That the Borrower having sent a note desiring any Book, his Note be filed up, and his Name enter'd in a Book kept in the Library for that purpose, what Year, Month and Day he borrowed such a Book; and upon the Return of the Book, the Note be also return'd, and the Name of the Borrower cross'd out."¹⁸

Among the books suggested as a foundation for the lending libraries were works on history, geography, travel, and theology. The proposed historical library included Lupin's Ecclesiastical

History; Platina's Lives of the Popes; Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England; Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe; Masaray's History of France; and other works. Among the books upon geography and travel were Varenus' Geography; Misson's Travels to Italy; Coge's Description of the West Indies; and Dampier's Voyage round the World. Theological treatises, naturally, were to be the most numerous; some of which were: Bishop Wilkin's Natural Religion; Dr. Pelling's Divine Existence; Dr. Hody's Resurrection; Dr. Sherlock's Death; the Whole Duty of Man, and Snake in the Grass. This was only a part of the library, as fifty-seven titles were included in the entire collection proposed by the Reverend Dr. Bray.¹⁹

Recommendations concerning the establishment and management of parochial libraries abroad were specifically outlined by the Commissary in his printed "Proposals For the Encouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations." The general plan resembled that concerning the libraries to be established in England. The parish clergymen in America were to send lists of books needed for their immediate use to the Bishop of London, who was to forward the libraries to the colony. The books were then to be placed in a room of the parsonage for the use of the minister. Four copies of a catalogue of the books contained in each parish library were to be made; one to be sent to the Bishop of London; another to the Commissary, a third to be placed in the hands of the vestry; and a fourth to remain in the parsonage.

A triennial inspection of the parochial libraries was to be made by the Commissary to prevent books from being lost or stolen. The minister was to act as librarian and the name of the parish was to be marked in each volume in order to guard against loss or theft. A portion of the books in these libraries was to consist of free copies furnished by booksellers, while the remainder were to be obtained as gifts from authors or through contributions made for that purpose.²⁰ These libraries were intended primarily for the use of the clergy, but the need of reading material for the congregation was not forgotten by the Commissary.

The proper books and tracts for the use of communicants of the Church of England in America were definitely specified by Dr. Bray in a small pamphlet entitled "The Layman's Library Being A Lending Library for the Use of the Laity." The books were to be shipped in strong book presses and were to be kept in the vestry of each parish in the colonies for the use of the congregation.²¹ Practically all were religious in nature, including Bibles, the whole Duty of Man; the Seaman's Monitor; Dr. Sherlock's Death; Asheton's Death-Bed Repentance; Dissuaves from the sin of Drunkenness, and others. The number of books and pamphlets for each parish were estimated at over five hundred copies. The whole Duty of Man, and other more important works, were few in number, while there were as many as fifty pamphlets concerning Dissuaves from the sin of Drunkenness.²² The books were to be loaned out for short periods of time to assist the clergyman in entreaching the

doctrines of Anglicanism firmly in the minds of the people. In order to be sure that the books and tracts were read, the clergymen were to question the borrowers concerning the material covered.

In order to enlighten the people, the Commissary, through a sermon preached at St. Paul's in 1697, made a report concerning the condition of the Anglican Church in the colonies. The report showed that the promised support regarding book contributions was forthcoming as sixteen parish libraries were in existence in Maryland and one in Charleston, South Carolina. There were thirty parishes in Maryland with sixteen ministers, while Virginia had fifty parishes with thirty ministers. The Carolinas had made little progress in the matter of religious establishment since only one church and one minister was reported at Charleston.²² A petition was presented to the House of Commons by Dr. Bray the same year, asking for assistance to buy books to induce "learned and pious divines to go over in the service of the Church." The petition further alleged that £1000 had already been expended for the purchase of religious works for ministers emigrating to the colonies. The request was not granted by the English Parliament, but it indicated that the new Commissary was working zealously for the cause of religion in America.²⁴ The appeal was not ignored in high places for contributions came from the royal family. The new capitol of Maryland had been named Annapolis in honor of Anne, Princess of Denmark, who responded with a benefaction for the establishment of colonial libraries. A collection of books

to the value of nearly £400 was purchased and placed at the capitol of Maryland. This was named the Annapolitan Library in honor of the benefactor.²⁵

No provisions had been made for the financial support of Dr. Bray and his project in the colonies, and he was urged by his friends to abandon the idea and accept one of the positions offered to him in England. This he refused to do and, in 1699, after having waited two years in vain for an Act of Religion from Maryland that would receive Royal Assent, he proceeded to America at the request of the Bishop of London. It was hoped that his presence in Maryland would hasten the necessary legislation by the Assembly. Since no allowance had been made for his transportation, the Commissary was obliged to raise money for his own expenses.²⁶ Arriving in Maryland in March, 1700, the Commissary immediately began action in behalf of the passage of the desired laws. The Governor and the Members of the Assembly were interviewed. The clergy were called together and advised concerning the measures necessary to insure the passage of the desired legislation. Parochial visits were made to ascertain the conditions of clerical affairs in the outlying districts. While the Assembly was in session, Dr. Bray preached sermons urging the great need for the passage of the Act of Establishment. Upon the passage of the Act the Commissary was persuaded to return with it to England in order to promote the Royal Assent thereto. This he agreed to do, but his efforts were not crowned with complete success owing to the opposition of Quakers and Catholics. The Act was not accepted

but the Lords of Trade agreed to allow Dr. Bray to draw up another bill with the aid of the Council which, if passed by the Maryland Assembly, would be affirmed by His Majesty.²⁷

In England Bray continued his efforts in behalf of the spread of Anglicanism in the colonies. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was incorporated in 1701 largely because of the efforts of the Maryland Commissary. This was an organization which accepted benefactions to be used for sending missionaries and schoolmasters abroad. It was patterned after another society formed by Dr. Bray in 1699, known as The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The latter collected contributions for the dissemination of religious knowledge both at home and abroad, while the activities of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were limited to religious efforts in the colonies.²⁸ The Commissary did not return to America but remained in England where he directed the efforts toward the establishment of missionaries and libraries in the colonies. He accepted the living of St. Botolph Without, Aldgate, in 1706 and continued in that position until the time of his death in 1726. He devoted his attention to the promotion of the library movement during the remainder of his life. Before his demise he enlisted the aid of some interested persons to carry on the work. This group came to be known as "Dr. Bray's Associates for founding clerical libraries and supporting negro schools," and the association still remains in existence.

Although many of the benefactors of the Maryland libraries lived in England, not all of the donations came from that country. The Anglicans of Maryland were aware of the importance of Dr. Bray's work in founding churches and libraries in their midst. Governor Nicholson was a staunch supporter of education and regarded libraries as an important element in the successful spread of learning. He cooperated earnestly and, in 1697, instructed each vestry to return an account of all books in its possession. His proclamation further specified that the vestries should indicate the manner in which the books had been secured.²⁹ The following year the Council proposed that £100 be appropriated for purchasing books necessary "for the propagation of good learning and virtue" as an aid to Dr. Bray's project.³⁰ Governor Nicholson also made the suggestion in November, 1698, that he "is pleased to give the Reverend Rector Tho^s Bray ... (provided he comes into this province and the Act for Marriage Licenses pass) for the good services he has done in Collecting Libraries etc. the money and toll arising on Marriage Licenses since the 29th of June 1697."³¹ A gift of £50, for the purchase of books was presented to the Commissary in 1700 by a person whose name was not revealed.³² This example was followed by James Rigbye, of Ann Arundel County, who, in his will filed the same year, bequeathed fifty acres as glebe-land and personal property for the establishment of a church library in St. James Parish.³³ In 1701 the Reverend Hugh Jones of Christ Church Parish, in Calvert County, devised his personal property for the use of a library.³⁴

Some of these parish libraries in time became collections of considerable importance.

Details have also been recorded concerning the consignments to, and contents of, the parish libraries. In March, 1695, six sets of books were received from the Bishop of London and were distributed to the vestrymen and the ministers. General information regarding the contents of some of the parish libraries has also been preserved. At one time there were forty-two volumes in the library of Christ Church Parish, Calvert County.³⁶ St. James Parish, favored by James Rigbye in his will, contained one of the best collections of books in the colony outside of Annapolis and St. Marys. A shipment of books was received in 1698, consisting of twenty volumes in folio, eighteen in quarto, and eighty-seven in octavo. They were classified as follows: 111 works on religion, twelve on geography and history, two on language, one on natural science, one on law, one on mathematics and one ancient classic. This collection was supplemented in 1703 by the addition of a layman's library. A catalogue of the entire library has been preserved showing that there were 150 volumes therein.³⁷ A catalogue of the library of Nanjemoy Parish, Charles County, has also survived. The original collection of ten volumes was supplemented in 1701 by the addition of twenty-five folios, five quartos, and twenty-nine octavos and duodecimos. Besides the religious works in this library, there were five volumes on history, two on mathematics, two on philosophy, and one each on language, education, politics, and gardening. The

parish was also given a layman's library of 982 books and pamphlets, devoted principally to religion.³⁸

The most important of the Maryland libraries was that at Annapolis, established by members of the royal family. It was designated as a provincial library and was kept in the State House until the destruction of that building by fire in 1704. Then the collection was removed to King Williams School, later merged with St. John's College where some of the volumes can be found at the present time.³⁹ The books in this library were for circulation and some of the patrons abused the borrowing privilege. When an inventory was made in 1715, at the request of Governor Hart, several volumes were missing. The Assembly resolved to have the sheriffs post notices requesting persons having these books in their possession to return them to the Reverend Samuel Skippon, rector of St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, who acted as librarian.⁴⁰ Commissary Bray had recommended that the parish libraries be inspected by the vestry at stated intervals. An evidence that his recommendations were carried out has been recorded in connection with the meeting of the Vestry of St. Ann's Parish in November, 1732. At that time it was decided "that at their next meeting they inspect into the Condition of the Library belonging to this Parish and the better to enable them to do so Mr Humphrey is desired to lay before them at their next meeting a list of the books belonging to the said Parish."⁴¹

As previously suggested, Governor Nicholson had proposed that part of the fiscal levy raised for arms be diverted for

the purpose of purchasing books for all persons.⁴² This proposal was refused but the Assembly, on June 11, 1697, did pass a resolution of thanks for Dr. Bray's efforts in sending books and ministers to serve the needs of Maryland.⁴³

The parish library movement did not spread to Virginia to any appreciable extent. One reason for this was the fact that the Established Church in the Old Dominion was under the control of Commissary Blair - the doughty Scotchman who was not averse to defying Royal Governors, and who was not influenced by the parochial library movement. Some books were donated to Virginia, however, as 136 volumes were forwarded for the use of several parishes and a collection valued at £50 was sent to William and Mary College.⁴⁴ Blair's unconcern piqued some of the ministers in Virginia and they came to look upon Maryland as "greener pastures" for their labors. One of these dissatisfied Virginia clergymen was the Reverend George Murdock, who wrote in June, 1725, asking that he might be transferred to Maryland. His request was granted and he was sent to the newly organized Prince George's Parish, remarkable for its immense size, being sixty miles in length and twenty miles in width. From his new location, in 1730, the Reverend Mr. Murdock wrote to the Bishop of London lamenting the death of the Reverend Dr. Bray and asking for a donation of books as his library had been lost by fire. The books requested were religious in nature, as Dr. Scot's Sermons, Delightful Method of Friendly Religion, and The Christian Scholar for the Use of School Boys. He also deplored the fact that "we

have a Popish Chappel and a Presbyterian Meeting house very nigh our Church."⁴⁵ Another of the Virginia clergymen who emigrated to Maryland was the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, later famous as the fiery Loyalist of the Revolutionary era. 'Parson' Boucher had been located in Caroline County, Virginia, where he spent some time in reading and study, but more in drinking and carousing, until an opportunity occurred for his removal to Maryland.⁴⁶ Boucher's career is of interest because he engaged in two enterprises founded by Dr. Bray. One was the teaching of religion to negroes in Maryland, assisted by "The Associates of Dr. Bray," while the other was the acceptance of a position as assistant-secretary for "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" after his return to England.⁴⁷

North Carolina was one of the colonies which benefited to some extent from the work of Commissary Bray. The diffusion of reading material helped to ameliorate the backward spiritual and intellectual condition of the colony. Because of the limited number and the erratic character of most of the missionaries sent to North Carolina, the chief means of disseminating Anglicanism was through the printed page. The first evidence of books sent to North Carolina is found in a letter from Henderson Walker to the Bishop of London in 1703. The lack of an Established Church was regretted by Governor Walker and it was stated that Quakerism was gaining a foothold in North Carolina. The books and pamphlets sent over by Dr. Bray were a very necessary means of preventing the spread of dissent since Mr. Daniel Brett, the missionary sent out by the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel, had proved to be a man of low moral character.⁴⁸ When Mr. Blair, another minister sent out by the Society, traveled through North Carolina the same year, he found great need of churches and clergymen. There were readers established in three church precincts and with whom Mr. Blair left books.⁴⁹

Two of the more capable Episcopalian missionaries sent to North Carolina arrived in 1708. These were Mr. Gordon and Mr. Adams, earnest persevering men who labored diligently for the good of the Church during the short time they were in the colony. The former traveled through Chowan Precinct, preaching, baptizing children, and distributing books and pamphlets sent over from England.⁵⁰ His efforts were apparently appreciated by the parishioners as the vestry voted fifteen shillings for "Mr Gordon's Expenses about the books" at a meeting held on February 17, 1709.⁵¹ Mr. Adams was in charge of Curratuck Precinct in May, 1709. Mr. Gordon wrote to England concerning conditions in the colony. It was noted in this letter that there was no church in Curratuck Precinct and that no books had ever been sent over for the use of the people there.⁵² Upon the return of Mr. Gordon to England and the death of Mr. Adams in 1710, the missionary burden in North Carolina was placed upon the shoulders of Mr. Urmetone.⁵³ The latter had much difficulty with the books sent over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1711 he wrote concerning a library sent to Bath, North Carolina, by mistake, and wished steps to be taken to secure it for his

use.⁵⁴ The following year, Urnstone complained that after the decease of Mr. Adams, an application had been made for the transfer of his library for Urnstone's use but that the parish refused to relinquish its right to the books. Urnstone also lamented the fact that he had never been able to secure the collection of books at Bath as it had remained there for the use of the inhabitants and the officials.⁵⁵ Mr. Rainsford, another missionary sent to North Carolina by the Society, also tried in 1712 to secure the books left by Mr. Adams but without success. He wrote of distributing a small number of books and farther stated that "Old Mr. Saunders of Currahuk who has Mr Adams books refuses to deliver 'em." A request was made that some books be sent to Rainsford from England as soon as possible. These were to include Dr. Cave's two volume work on the Lives of the Fathers, Collier's Essays and Morris' Works.⁵⁶

Some of the parishioners were also anxious to secure and retain in their midst the libraries sent out by the Reverend Dr. Bray. The vestry of the church on the north shore of the Sound in Chowan Precinct wrote to England in March, 1714, stating that books sent to them by Mr. Gordon had never reached their destination. These books had been sent in care of the Reverend Mr. Wallace of Virginia, who refused to release them without an order from the Society. In the meantime Wallace had died and the vestry desired information concerning the procedure necessary to obtain possession of the books.⁵⁷ Evidence has already been cited indicating with what tenacity the people of Bath and of Currahuk Precincts cling to the books

already in their possession. It is possible that the parishioners felt that their chances of securing a clergyman were greater if a library was already located in their parish for the minister's use.

Mr. Urnstone was exceedingly zealous concerning book collections, and, perhaps, something of a grouch. He was continually complaining about the other missionaries, or against the people of Bath for allowing the books in the library there to become lost or scattered.⁵⁸ The foundation of this collection was laid in 1700 when Mr. Bray had sent over thirty-eight folios, nineteen quartos, and 109 octavos. These included eleven works on history and travel, two on geography, three on mathematics, three on biography, three on law, three dictionaries, four classics, and Hudibras, a volume of poetry. This was accompanied by a layman's library of 870 books and pamphlets.⁵⁹ Mr. Urnstone's charges of neglect concerning the Bath Library were unwarranted as specific legislation was passed in 1715 to preserve the books for the use of the inhabitants of Beaufort Precinct. This provided for the appointment of Commissioners, who were empowered to select a librarian, and the preparation of library catalogues for the use of the librarian, the church wardens, and the Commissioners. The books were intended for circulation and the following provisions were made for their loan: Folio volumes could be kept four months, quarto volumes two months and octavo volumes one month. Fines of three times the value of the book were incurred for damaging or failing to return volumes loaned. Annual in-

spection and appraisal of the books in the library was also provided by the statute.⁶⁰ The plan of lending followed that outlined by Dr. Bray for the deanery libraries in England, but the time limit was much more liberal.

The work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel continued after the death of the Reverend Dr. Bray in 1726 as missionaries and books came into North Carolina for a long period of time. In 1735 Richard Marden wrote from the Cape Fear district concerning his missionary efforts there and requested the Bishop of London to send books and pamphlets for his own use and for distribution among the congregation.⁶¹ In 1748 Clement Hall returned thanks to the Society for the books it had sent out, stating that they had been distributed among the people who appreciated them very much. Four years later Hall again wrote to England concerning his missionary efforts, stressing the distribution of books sent out by the Society as a necessary and effective part of his work.⁶² Two Anglican missionaries, James Reed and John McDowell, were active in North Carolina in 1760. The former, writing from Newburn, thanked the Society for the pamphlets sent over for his use, while the latter, at Brunswick, expressed his appreciation for "the present of very valuable books from the venerable society."⁶³ Three years later one of the missionaries, Alexander Stewart, stated that "Dr. Bray's Associates ... have done me the Honor of making me Superintendent of their schools in this Province, have fixed a school mistress ... to teach 4 Indian & 2 Negro boys & 4 Indian girls to read & to work and have supplied them

with Books for that purpose."⁶⁴ The work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel continued up to the end of the American Revolution. As late as 1771 the Reverend Mr. Taylor of St. George's Parish, Northampton County, North Carolina, wrote to the Society requesting books and expressing appreciation for those already sent.⁶⁵ In the meantime the Society was also active in South Carolina.

The influence of the Reverend Thomas Bray extended to South Carolina as early as 1698 when plans were made for a library at Charleston.⁶⁶ Legislation was enacted two years later concerning the Charleston Library, which was intended as a lending library for the public. The books sent over by the Reverend Mr. Bray for public use were to be placed in the custody of the minister who was liable for any loss. In case of the death, or the resignation, of the clergyman, the churchwardens were to be in charge of the books until a successor was chosen. The general charge of the library was to be in the hands of nine commissioners appointed by the General Assembly. The commissioners were required to examine and appraise the books annually. Any inhabitant of South Carolina was free to use the library. The length of time for which books could be borrowed was four months for folios, two months for quartos and one month for octaves. Seven catalogues of the books were to be made for distribution as follows: one to the Proprietors in England, one to the Bishop of London, one to the Reverend Mr. Bray, one to the provincial secretary of South Carolina, one to the commissioners, one to the church-

wardens, and one to the librarian. Landgrave Joseph Morton was one of the first library commissioners chosen after the enactment of the statute.⁶⁷ More books were added to the Charleston Library from time to time, as Nicholas Trott stated in 1703 that Dr. Bray had sent a number of volumes for that purpose, together with some works for a layman's library.⁶⁸ An Act was passed the following year by the General Assembly of South Carolina for the establishment of religious worship which stated "That the Rector of the Parish of St. Philip's, in Charlestown ... shall ... have and enjoy ... one tenement for his habitation, excepting the rooms reserved for the Provincial Library."⁶⁹ On May 7, 1704, the Treasurer of South Carolina was ordered to pay Edward Moseley £5 15s. for transcribing the catalogue of library books so the statute enacted in 1700 must have been carried into effect.⁷⁰ There were abuses of the borrowing privilege as some of the books were lost or damaged. This made necessary restrictive legislation which was passed in 1712 "For the preservation of the said library," declared the measure, "it will be necessary to lodge a discretionary power in the person that keeps the same to deny any person the loan of the book that he shall think will not take care of the same."⁷¹

Missionaries were sent to South Carolina by the Reverend Dr. Bray to assist in the spreading of Anglicanism there. The Reverend Samuel Thomas was one of the early ministers sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He arrived in South Carolina in 1702, and wrote to England stating that

he had distributed the books brought with him and was in need of some Common Prayer Books.⁷² In July of that year it was agreed by the committee in England that they would send books to the value of £14, originally donated by several gentlemen in Suffolk for a missionary in the West Indies, to the Reverend Mr. Thomas.⁷³ Again in 1705 he was the recipient of the favors of the Society of "the usual allowance of £10 5s. for a library and for small books." The Reverend Samuel Thomas in return had the pleasure of informing the Society of a gift of thirty guineas by Colonel Nicholson, the late Governor of Virginia, for purchasing books for the six parishes of South Carolina.⁷⁴ He did not long survive after that date as a letter of Mr. Maule from Charleston, in November, 1707, mentioned securing the books of the late Mr. Thomas.⁷⁵ The Society continued to send missionaries and books to South Carolina for some time. In 1726 Mr. Morritt acknowledged a gift of books sent from England for the Free School in Charleston.⁷⁶

The outlying parishes were also served by the clergymen sent out from England. The Reverend Gilbert Jones, who was located in Christ Church Parish, was obliged to flee to Charleston during the Indian outbreak in 1715 and 1716. Mr. Guy was also a suffer from Indian depredations at that time as he lost everything except his clothes and his books.⁷⁷ In Goose Creek Parish Francis Le Jan, an Anglican Huguenot, was busily engaged in 1717 trying to combat the influence of non-religious literature by distributing religious books and pamphlets sent over by the Society.⁷⁸ St. Paul's Parish was greatly aided

by the bequest of Mr. John Whitmarsh in 1728. One thousand pounds was given to the vestry, half to be used for the purchase of books of piety and devotion to be distributed to the poor and the remainder to be expended for the education of the poor children of the parish.⁷⁹ The Reverend William Orr, pastor of St. Paul's Parish in 1742, was concerned about increasing the size of his congregation. He acknowledged the receipt of books sent by the Society for the instruction of the Indians and desired copies of Wall's Infant Baptism and other religious works to be distributed among the people as a means of combatting the spread of dissenting sects.⁸⁰ Other ministers also received books for distribution as it has been stated by one writer that two thousand volumes were sent to South Carolina for this purpose.⁸¹

There can be little doubt concerning the immediate success of Dr. Bray's efforts in establishing libraries in the colonial South, especially in the three colonies of Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina. In one year, 1701, it was stated that there were thirty-five boxes of books shipped to Maryland by the Bishop of London.⁸² Within a few years after the departure of Commissary Bray from America, there were thirty parochial libraries in Maryland. These ranged in size from the two volumes at St. Paul's Talbot County, to the collection of 1095 books in the Provincial Library, at Annapolis. There were over three hundred volumes at St. Mary's, while several other parishes each possessed over one hundred books. Over 2500 volumes were in the thirty parish libraries in Maryland

within a short time after their founding.⁸³ In North Carolina and in South Carolina books were distributed by the missionaries sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Probably the greatest achievement in connection with the dissemination of books was the establishment of Provincial Libraries, authorized and regulated by the colonial assemblies, in Annapolis, Maryland; Bath, North Carolina; and Charleston, South Carolina. In the meantime a Virginia planter was assembling one of the largest private collections of books in colonial America.

NOTES ON CHAPTER II

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 25. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 19.
 26. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

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81. Alexander Hewatt, An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, I. (London, 1779), pp. 189, 191-192.
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	Books		Books
Annapolis	1095	All Faith's, Calvert Co.	11
St. Mary's	314	Nanjemoy, Charles Co.	10
Herring Creek	150	Piscataway, Charles Co.	10
South River	109	Broad Neck, Ann Arundel Co.	10
North Sassafras	42	St. John's, Baltimore Co.	10
King & Queen Parish	196	St. George's, Baltimore Co.	10
Christ Church, Calvert Co.	42	Kent Island	10
All Saints	49	Dorchester	10
St. Paul's, Calvert Co.	106	Snow Hill, Somerset Co.	10
Great Choptank, Dorchester Co.	76	South Sassafras	10
St. Paul's, Baltimore Co.	42	St. Paul's, Kent Co.	35
Stepney, Somerset Co.	60	William & Mary, Charles Co.	26
Porto Batto, Charles Co.	30	Somerset, Somerset Co.	20
St. Peter's, Talbot Co.	10	Coventry, Somerset Co.	25
St. Michael's, Talbot Co.	15		
St. Paul's Talbot Co.	2		

Chapter III

THE BYRD LIBRARY

The three William Byrds, men of prominence in the Old Dominion for over a century before the American Revolution, engaged in book collecting. William Byrd I, the progenitor of the family in America, arrived in Virginia about 1670. The beginning of the Byrd Family in this colony, however, could be said to have dated back to 1637 when Captain Thomas Stegge, maternal grandfather of William Byrd I, lived in Charles City County and engaged in trading activities along the James River. Captain Stegge was a man of importance. He was elected Speaker of the Virginia Assembly in 1643 and became a member of the Council the following year. Upon the death of the elder Stegge in 1651, his property in Virginia was bequeathed to his son Thomas Stegge. The latter also was a member of the Council in this colony and later became Auditor-General. In 1671 he died without heirs, leaving the Virginia property to the son of his sister Grace Byrd of London. William Byrd, first of that name, was only nineteen years of age when he came into possession of his uncle's property, but his inheritance and the influential positions occupied by the two Thomas Stegges made possible the rapid rise of the young man.¹ This property consisted of land in the vicinity of the present city of Richmond. Byrd imported goods from England and the West Indies for trading with the Indians and the planters.

In these activities he enjoyed considerable success and greatly augmented his fortune. In 1688 he purchased twelve hundred acres of land at Westover in Charles City County, erected a commodious frame dwelling, and removed his family thither.² Following the example of his uncle and his grandfather, Byrd entered politics and advanced to a position on the Council. In 1680 he was commissioned as Colonel in the militia and seven years later was appointed Deputy-Auditor and Receiver-General of Virginia.³

Although Colonel William Byrd I was busily engaged in commercial, military, and political activities, he did not permit these occupations to absorb all of his time. He was interested in exploration and discovery, gaining much information by sending pack trains into the interior to trade with the Indians. In 1676, for example, Byrd received a letter from a Jesuit missionary who was located in the interior several hundred miles west of Virginia.⁴ He was also interested in natural history, especially geology, perhaps for its utilitarian value in discovering or recognizing minerals. In June, 1684, Byrd wrote to Mr. Coe in England requesting him to send "a good treatise of Mineralls, especially of Lead and silver."⁵ Two years later he was still in quest of books dealing with minerals and stones. A letter was sent to John Clinton, accompanied by "an Indian Habitt" for Clinton's son. This communication mentioned the receipt of some books sent previously and desired a treatise or two on minerals and stones, written by Mr. Boyle or some other English author. The latest

edition of Salmon's Polygraphic was also desired, together with some samples of lead, tin, and silver ore.⁶ Colonel Byrd was intensely interested in the early history of Virginia. He paid sixty guineas for two volumes of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company in England belonging to the estate of the Earl of Southampton. A difference of opinion has arisen among historians concerning the time these records were secured. Some have contended that the transfer took place at the time of Southampton's death in 1667, others have set the date at 1671, while the remainder have argued that the transaction was made while Byrd was in England in 1687.⁷ The arguments of the latter group seem more plausible, however, in view of Byrd's youth at either of the former dates.

Colonel Byrd's interest in natural history also extended to botany as is indicated by his letters to Jacob Robert, keeper of the botanical gardens at Oxford. In 1688, after Byrd's return from England, he acknowledged a present of some trees and shrubs sent by Robert. John Banister, a naturalist living in Virginia, was also a friend of Colonel Byrd.⁸

Slowly the library at Westover increased in size. In 1689 Byrd acknowledged the receipt of a book from some business acquaintance whose name has not been revealed.⁹ Little information has been recorded concerning the number and titles of the books purchased by the owner of Westover. The nature of a few of his books has been divulged, however, as he ordered from Perry and Lane, his London business Agents, in 1689, The Turkish Spy and Burnet's Theory of the Earth.¹⁰ Some of

the shipments of reading material at Westover must have been of considerable size as a communication with the same firm, written in 1690, mentioned a bill of £35, 14s for books.¹¹ Correspondence carried on during the remaining fourteen years of Colonel Byrd's life does not mention the receipt of books. The principal development of the library at Westover came during the lifetime of his son, William Byrd II.

William Byrd II was born in Virginia in 1674 and received his education in England and Holland. In the latter country he became acquainted with Sir Robert Southwell. Some time after 1690 Byrd became a student of law in the Middle Temple in London. While in England he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society for his interest and achievements in scientific work.¹² Returning to Virginia some time before 1696, Byrd entered into politics and became a member of the Assembly. He again sailed for England and, in 1698, was appointed by the Virginia Council as Agent for the Colony of Virginia. Upon the death of his father in 1704, he returned to America to manage the estate and to re-enter political life. He secured the offices of Auditor and Receiver-General held by his father and, after 1708, was a member of the Council. Like his father, he was made President of the Council late in life. He also aspired to martial honors and became a colonel in the colonial militia.¹³ His entire attention was not engaged in business and political affairs as he showed an adeptness in other activities.

Colonel William Byrd II was a versatile man and showed evidence of great proficiency in cultural pursuits. He was

interested in reading and book collecting, assembling one of the largest private libraries in colonial America. A number of the works in this library probably was purchased by Colonel Byrd during his numerous sojourns in England as his correspondence reveals few orders or requests for books. One communication regarding reading material, however, was sent in 1710 to Sir Hans Sloan, distinguished botanist, physician, and member of the Royal Society, requesting his account of Jamaica and any recent works upon travels and voyages.¹⁴ Another of these rare letters of Colonel Byrd concerning books was sent to Lord Boyle in 1727. The receipt of The Historical Epistle was acknowledged and appreciation expressed regarding the pleasure derived from its perusal.¹⁵ In 1739 Colonel Byrd wrote to the Governor of Bermuda congratulating him upon his appointment to that position. Discussing Edmund Waller's poetry, the Colonel stated that it "should be read with many Grains of allowance," thus indicating that he presented a critical attitude to what he read.¹⁶ In a letter to Sir Robert Walpole during the same year Byrd discussed political affairs in England and the prospects of war. He mentioned that his reading of the history of England convinced him of the wisdom of that nation relying upon the superiority of her navy in time of conflict.¹⁷ In 1741 he again wrote to Sir Hans Sloan, then President of the Royal Society, concerning plants in Virginia and in this communication chided Sloan for omitting his name from the list of members of the Society. Byrd further requested, because of his son's study of natural philosophy, that a telescope, barometer, thermometer, and other

apparatus for experiments in this work, be forwarded to him. Sloan's History of Jamaica was also desired for the library at Westover.¹⁸ It was not so much in his letters, however, as it was in his other writings and in his library itself, that the real range of Colonel Byrd's interest in reading was revealed.

The library was finally assembled in the new brick dwelling built by Colonel William Byrd II to displace the frame building in which his father had lived. The main floor of the mansion at Westover had a large hall, about ten feet in width, running through the house. Entering from the front of the house, the living room was on the right of the hall while the library was on the left. The latter was a plainly panelled but very handsome room.¹⁹ At one time the library contained twenty-three black walnut bookcases holding over three thousand volumes of books and pamphlets.²⁰ In that room, among his books, Colonel William Byrd II probably did most of his writing.

The Byrd Library contained over three thousand three hundred volumes some time before its disposal in 1777. It is impossible to state the number of books added to the collection by William Byrd II but it is safe to assume that most of them were secured through his efforts. There were several hundred volumes on history and travel written in English, French, Latin and Dutch. Although Byrd's education and many of his interests were European, he was much interested in the land of his birth if the books upon America in his library

can be accepted as a criterion for judgment. Twenty-two works concerning American travel and history were included in his collection. There were five works upon Virginia, three upon New England, and one each upon New York and Pennsylvania. The remainder were miscellaneous works, mostly voyages and travel dealing with North America, South America, and the West Indies. Such books upon America, as Smith's History of Virginia; Beverley's History of Virginia; Hennepin's Travels; Purchas' Pilgrimage; and La Bontan, Voyages; are read at the present time. Mathew's History of New England was listed but this was probably a mistake in the spelling of the author's name and should have been 'Mather'.²¹ The remainder of the books upon history and travel, were concerned chiefly with Europe and the Orient.

Books concerning the professions of law and medicine were numerous. Colonel Byrd possessed an imposing array of legal and political works as befitting a member, and later President, of the Virginia Council. Among the better known titles were: Coke on Littleton; Laws of Virginia; Hale's Pleas of the Crown; Puffendorf's De Officio Hominis; Swinburn's Wills; Grotius' War and Peace; Locke's Government; Sidney's Government; Hobbes' Leviathan; and Harrington's Works. Byrd's interest in the treatment and cure of diseases was very great and he was a firm advocate of the use of certain herbs and plants found in America. No doubt his collection of medical books was more extensive than those belonging to many of the physicians in the colony as there were over one hundred and

fifty different titles listed, including: James' Medicinal Dictionary; Vessalius' De Humano Corpore; Hippocrates' Foesii; Collinin's Anatomy; Blair's Botanic Essays; Shaw's Practice of Physick; Boerhaave's Chymistry; Recherches des Cancers; and Digby's Cure of wounds by sympathy. The two latter titles are of interest as the first indicated that some cancer research was in progress at that early period, while the second suggests some method of 'faith healing.'

The collection of works listed as Entertainment, Poetry, and Translations, in the Byrd library reflects the reading interests of the early eighteenth century Virginia planter. Among those which have retained their popularity down to the present time were: Shakespeare's Works; Ben Jonson's Works; Chaucer's Works; Locke's Education, Le Foe's Works; Swift's Tale of a Tub; Pope's Odyssey and Iliad; and Milton's Paradise Lost. The library at Westover contained Ovid's Metamorphoses but since no information was given concerning the translator, there is a possibility that it was George Sandy's translation, made in Virginia early in the seventeenth century. A voluminous collection of French books, chiefly entertainment, was also in the library. Among these were: Fables de la Fontaine; Oeuvres de Rabelais; Poems de Corneille; and others.²⁵

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was much interest in the classics as shown by the presence of nearly three hundred works of this nature at Westover. The religious temper of the time was reflected by the two hundred books upon divinity and theology. Although the William Byrds were not

religious zealots, they were firmly attached to the Established Church. Consequently their religious books, as Tillotson's Sermons; Taylor's Holy Living and Dying; and Wake's Authority of Christian Princes; were filled with good Anglican doctrine. Snake in the Grass, Judgement Against Unitarians, and Lloyd's Papery, were treatises warning against the dangers from Catholics and dissenting sects.²⁴ In addition to these classical and theological books, there were over one thousand miscellaneous works upon travel, history, biography, astronomy, and other subjects.

The care of the books was placed in the hands of a librarian during the latter part of the life of Colonel William Byrd II. It is the only record in the colonial period of any person being employed in that capacity by the owner of a private book collection. William Proctor, a Scotchman, served in the dual capacity of librarian and tutor for the Byrd children. Mr. Proctor was well treated as is shown by a letter to his brother, written in 1739, in which he stated that "I am library keeper & have all genteel conveniences. ... This renders ... 20 lbs English money ... and I have some small addition of one guinea or two per annum for my Pupill's Companion, besides the kindness of the Family in having my linen made or mended."²⁵ Another evidence of the regard of the owners for the library was the fact that the books were marked with a book plate bearing the Byrd coat-of-arms.²⁶

Not only did William Byrd II make use of the library at Westover, but he made it available to other scholars. When

William Stith, the Virginia clergyman and later President of William and Mary College, wrote his History of the Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, he stated in the Preface that "I must confess myself most indebted, in this Part of my History, to a very full and fair Manuscript of the London Company's Records, which was communicated to me by the late worthy President of our Council, the Honourable William Byrd, Esq; neither could I well excuse myself, if I did not likewise acknowledge, with what Humanity and Politeness, that well bred Gentleman and Scholar, not only communicated those Manuscripts to me, but also threw open his Library." Stith also acknowledged that Colonel Byrd had aided in the work by searching out and giving to him from the collection those books which would prove useful in the undertaking.²⁷

Colonel William Byrd II was also the author of three works of note. These were The History of the Dividing Line, A Journey to Eden, and A Progress to the Mines. The first covered his activities in connection with the surveying of the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina. A Journey to Eden was a description of a surveying trip to take possession of land gained as a result of the boundary survey, while the last named of the three works gave the details of a journey to Colonel Alexander Spottewood's iron mines. These writings are of interest because of the frequent allusions therein to the author's reading. In The History of the Dividing Line Byrd referred to the "Superstitions of the Ancients, who had great Faith in the Flight of Vultures," and again to Hudibras'

horse.²⁸ In other places reference was made to "Mahomet's Paradise," "Lacedaemonian Damsels" and the "great Kings of Persia."²⁹ More knowledge of the ancients was displayed in mentioning Homer, the Ancient Scythians, and Herodotus' description of Babylon.³⁰ Familiarity with natural history and books of travel was indicated by references to beaustsoof burden in Chile; frogs in Egypt; bears in Muscovy, Greenland, and Nova Zembla; and the clothing in Sweden.³¹ In his journey to the mines of Colonel Spettswood, Byrd definitely recorded one instance of his reading and what was read. Arriving at Mr. Randolph's at Tuckahoe, on September 20, 1732, he was delayed by the rainy weather. Here he met a widow, Mrs. Judith Randolph, whom he gallantly sought to entertain. Fearing "Conversation might be too grave for a widow, I turn'd the discourse and began to talk of Plays, & finding her taste lay most towards Comedy, I offer'd my service to read one to Her, which she kindly accepted. She produced the 2d part of Beggar's Opera, which had diverted the Town for 40 Nights successively, and gain'd four thousand pounds to the Author."³²

The writings of Colonel Byrd were executed with care and he was unwilling that anyone should see any of his literary productions until they were completed. Mr. Collinson, a friend living in England, had desired to see The History of the Living Line. A reply to this request was sent from Westover in July, 1736, in which Byrd stated that "I come to the most difficult part of your letter to answer, that I mean, where-in you desire a sight of my History of the Line. I own it go's

against me to deny you Such a Trifle, but I have one Infirmity, never to venture anything unfinished out of my hands. The Bashfull Bears, hide their Cubbs, 'til they have lickt them into shape, nor am I too proud to follow the example of those modest animals. ... However I will compound the business with you & compliment you with the perusal of my Journal, giving an account of what we did every day during the Expedition." He further enjoined Collinson not to allow anyone except Sir Charles Wager to see or make a copy of the journal.³³ Colonel Byrd's literary efforts were not limited to the English language. Under the name of Wilhelm Vogel he published, in 1738, a work entitled Neu-Gefundenes Eden in Virginia. This was printed at St. Gall, Switzerland, and was distributed there to induce Swiss and German emigrants to settle in the Roanoke Valley where Byrd owned land.³⁴ Thus, in scholarship, and political and literary activity, Colonel William Byrd II was an example of a high type of colonial Virginia gentleman. All of these finer traits, however, were not apparent in his son and heir, William Byrd III.

William Byrd, third of the name in Virginia, was born in 1728. His mother was Maria Taylor Byrd, second wife of William Byrd II. None of the sons by the first marriage had lived and as William Byrd III was the only male child by the second marriage, he inherited most of the property upon the death of his father in 1744.³⁵ William Byrd III was educated in England and entered the Middle Temple in 1747 but did not complete the work there as he returned to Virginia in 1748. Following the example of his father and grandfather, he became identified

with political and military affairs in Virginia. In both of these endeavors he won some degree of success, serving for twenty years as a member of the Council and advancing to the position of colonel in the militia. Colonel William Byrd III became addicted to the habit of gambling - one of the prevalent evils common in Virginia at that time. Very little restraint appeared to have been exercised by this owner of Westover and most of the splendid estate acquired by his father and grandfather was squandered during his lifetime.³⁶

Few records have been preserved concerning the private life of Colonel William Byrd III except in regard to his gaming habits. The only evidence that he purchased books is gained from the date of publication. Any printed works coming from the press after 1744 and found in the Byrd library, would, presumably, have to be procured through the efforts of William Byrd III. Two of these works were Fielding's Tom Jones, which first appeared in 1749, and Virginia Laws of 1752.³⁷

Most of the Byrd property had been lost by the time of the death of William Byrd III in 1777 and it was necessary for his widow, Mary Willing Byrd, to dispose of much of the personal property in order to save the Westover plantation.³⁸ Byrd's will provided that one hundred Negroes, part of the plate, the library, and part of the livestock, be sold to pay his debts.³⁹ In the Virginia Gazette of December 26, 1777, appeared an advertisement stating that "This day is Published a Catalogue of the valuable Library, the Property of the Estate of the late Hon. William Byrd, Esq.; consisting of near 4000 volumes in all

languages and Faculties. ... Great part of the Books in elegant Bindings, and of the best Editions, and a considerable number of them very scarce. Catalogues may be seen at Messrs. Lixon & Hunter's in Williamsburg, ... and also at Westover where the Library may be viewed."⁴⁰ The price received for the library has not been definitely stated but one record has been left of \$2000 paid to the Byrd estate by Isaac Zane for books in 1776.⁴¹

The books soon became widely scattered, but some were purchased by persons who treasured them highly. The two volumes of The Proceedings of the Virginia Company in London, according to the account given by Thomas Jefferson in 1825, had been loaned by Colonel Byrd to Richard Bland. Upon the death of Bland in October, 1776, Jefferson purchased his library and found the two volumes therein. He notified Isaac Zane, who had purchased the Byrd library, of the fact but Zane never claimed the volumes and they remained in Thomas Jefferson's possession. Thomas Jefferson also stated that he procured four volumes of the original office records of the council when he purchased the library of Peyton Randolph. These had been borrowed by Sir John Randolph from the Byrd library, or from the Council office, for the purpose of reference in his projected History of Virginia. They were not returned and at the time of his death passed into the possession of his son Peyton Randolph, and finally into Thomas Jefferson's hands.⁴² This statement by Jefferson indicates that the Byrd Library continued to be available for use by Virginia writers just as it had been at

the time of the Reverend William Stith. Mr. Jefferson's willingness to return the two volumes to Isaac Lank also intimates that the latter's purchase was intended to include most of the Byrd library.

The Byrd library is of interest because of the fact that it was one of the largest private collections of books in the American colonies. It reflected the high regard of the educated planter for sound, substantial, and diversified reading. The books in the library at Westover were not procured to satisfy mere pride of possession but were actually used by the Byrd family and their friends for enjoyment and for reference purposes. The fact that Colonel William Byrd II made frequent allusions in his writings to a variety of customs, habits, and events in different parts of the world, indicate that he read widely. Added evidence of the utility of the library at Westover is found in the reference by the Reverend William Stith of his research conducted there. Works were also loaned to other aspiring writers of Virginia as Sir John Randolph and Colonel Richard Bland.

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

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6. "Letters of William Byrd First," Virginia Magazine of History, XXV (Apr. 1917), pp. 129-130.
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Chapter IV

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PLANTATION LIBRARIES

"Books are Useful Things," wrote Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis to his son in 1753.¹ Apparently, there were many to agree with him among the planters for the eighteenth century witnessed the enlargement and multiplication of southern libraries.

Several of the prominent men in Maryland were busily engaged in writing and book collecting. Benedict Leonard Calvert, Governor of the Province from 1727 to 1731, was editing a History of Maryland at the time of his death in 1732. His interest extended to publication, and he encouraged Parks, the printer, to locate at Annapolis. Books were sent to Calvert by his friends in England, together with the latest literary news from the Continent.² Some, too, were dedicated to him.³

In 1728 Dr. Charles Carroll, of Annapolis, was increasing the size of his book collection. In August of that year he wrote to Mr. Hyde Hoxton requesting that Wood's Institute of the Laws of England, Rushworth's Collection, an atlas, and other works, be shipped from England.⁴ Again in 1742 an order was sent to the English merchants, Philpot and Leo, for books to the value of two guineas. Among the works desired were Parliamentary Proceedings and Journals of the Parliament of Great Britain.⁵ Two years later William Black, the London Merchant was requested to send to Dr. Carroll "The best Edition of Plutaricks Lives in English, Popes Works [and]

Dryden's Virgil," together with other books, maps and globes. In 1745 it was desired that Mr. John Hanbury, a London merchant, send a shipment of Latin books to Annapolis. Dr. Carroll further requested that "as the times are Very precarious and many of our Ship taken I desire you will send a Second Set of the same Books by an other good Safe Ship coming up to this part of the Bay."⁷ No further information was given concerning the fate of the consignments of books and their ultimate disposal in case both ships arrived safely in Maryland. Charles Carroll, Junior, was sent to Europe for his education but upon the death of his younger brother, John Henry, in 1754, the father requested the elder son to return to America. It was expected that the younger Charles Carroll would remain in Maryland after his return and his father requested that he "Bring a Good Collection of necessary Books."⁸ The following year Dr. Charles Carroll died at his home in Annapolis.⁹

Another branch of the Carroll family lived at Carrollton. Charles Carroll, later a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was sent to Europe in 1748 for his education.¹⁰ He attended school in France for several years and while in Paris he had some difficulty in securing works by English authors because of the war in Europe. In reply to his inquiries concerning these works, the elder Carroll, in 1756, stated that "I suppose you may buy Locke and Newton in Paris, if not desire your cousin Anthony to write to Mr. Perkins to send them to you or any other books you may want. As war is declared I know not how you will get these books."¹¹ Three years later young Carroll wrote to his father concerning French

books and Classics which he needed. He was especially anxious to secure a new edition of Voltaire's complete writings.¹² It is altogether probable that the father acceded to his son's request as he was quite liberal in furnishing means for purchasing books. Again in 1760 Charles Carroll wrote to his father desiring his consent to purchase a new and complete atlas which could be procured in Paris for ten guineas, thus displaying an eagerness to acquire books despite their high cost. Young Carroll had just finished reading Hume's History of the Houses of Tudor and Stuart and strongly recommended it to his father.¹³ Evidently parental affirmation of the purchase was given as a letter came from the son the following year stating that "My Lord Arandel is expected over in a very short time his Lordship was so obliging as to charge himself with my Atlases: it costs very near 16 sterling."¹⁴ The elder Carroll entrusted to his son a very difficult task. He was desirous of securing an impartial history of Ireland and made inquiries in this regard in 1761. The son wrote of his difficulty in locating such a work and it was two years before he sent the first volume of Warner's Irish History to Maryland.¹⁵ This evidently came up to the elder Carroll's expectation as the second volume was sent to America in 1764 along with a shipment of books which included The Natural History of Kamchatka and Orme's History of Hindostan.¹⁶ In 1765 the younger Carroll completed his education and returned to Maryland where he took up the life of a planter. The only evidence of correspondence by the two Carrolls regarding reading material

after the son's return was a letter from the father in 1771 requesting newspapers and magazines.¹⁷ It is possible that most of the books purchased by Charles Carroll, while finishing his education in Europe, were brought to Maryland where they formed the basis of the young man's library.

An important book collection in Maryland during the eighteenth century was that belonging to the Lloyd family. Colonel Edward Lloyd (1744-1796) laid the foundation of a library which eventually contained nearly one thousand volumes. These books were kept at the plantation known as "Oge House" in Talbot County. The room set apart for a library was arranged in a unique manner as the only entrance was a door leading to the outside, thus insuring more seclusion for reading and contemplation. Among the books in this collection were Boydell's Shakespeare, Harris' Voyages and Travels, Milton's works, and Don Quixote.¹⁸

Books also were found in the back country in Maryland, and were a means of assuaging the loneliness of frontier life. Thomas Ridout located in Annapolis at the outbreak of the American Revolution intending to engage in merchantile pursuits. The closing of the ports made a career of that kind impossible at the time so Ridout settled upon a tract of land belonging to his brother. This land was located upon the banks of the Potomac River about one hundred and forty miles north west of Annapolis. Writing of his life in the back country, Ridout stated that "The third year I spent entirely in this retired spot, occupied in a farmer's care. I had a tolerable

collection of books, some music and one pretty rational neighbour, an attorney-at-law."¹⁹

Evidence of much greater activity in book collecting was taking place among the planters in the neighboring colony across the Potomac. One of the early eighteenth century libraries of importance in Virginia was that belonging to Colonel Ralph Wormeley of "Rosegill" in Middlesex County who died in 1701. An inventory of the personal property listed 147 works "In Madam Wormeley's closet" and 240 works "In Esq^r Wormeley's closet." As many of these works contained more than one volume, it is probable that there were over four hundred volumes in the collection. The library was especially rich in historical, religious, and medical titles. The former included Smith's Generall History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, and Sir Walter Raleigh's The History of the West Indies. Among the medical works were many interesting books including A Treatise of the Gout, Pancreatic Juice and Galen's Art of Physick. The books upon religion: The whole Duty of Man and The Reasonableness of Christianity reflected the usual literature of the Anglican.²⁰

With the establishment of the Capital and the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, that community became a cultural and social center. Many books were assembled at the college and in the homes of the faculty members. Periodic conflagrations wrought great havoc with some of these book collections. Mingo Ingles was one member of the faculty who suffered from the ravages of fire and wrote, in 1707, of the

destruction of "the best of my household stuff and my study full of books the loss of which has cost me many a deep sigh. ... I cannot enough lament the loss of my books, 18 boxes or shelves crammed as full as could hold, 'tis very much contrary to my nature to turn beggar, and yet would willingly be obliged to his Grace my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and any other of your friends for a small but choice Collection of books of Divinity."²¹

Colonel Richard Lee of Westmoreland County, who died in 1715, left a collection of books containing many works in Latin and Greek, including Praxis Medicinal, Senecae Opera, Tully's Orations, Poemata Latina Eugenii Grotii Institutio and many others. Among the books in English were such interesting titles as Mitt and Trolley, English Rogue, and Practice of Quietness.²² The former was probably similar to the modern book of jokes, while the latter could well have been advice to women. Another important early eighteenth century plantation library was that belonging to Edmund Berkeley, who was a resident of Middlesex County at the time of his death in 1718. An inventory of his personal estate revealed over one hundred works in his collection dealing with diverse subject. Some of the titles: A Perfect Guide for a Stupid Young Lawyer, A Profitable Book for Those That Are Burnt With Gunpowder, and A Manual Anatomy, reflect an interest in the professions that was common in plantation homes.²³ But not all of Berkeley's literary concerns were with guides and manuals. Shakespeare's plays were on these shelves, and Boccaccio's alluring tales.

The bibliographic records of plantation libraries are more detailed after 1720. The collection of Colonel Daniel McCarty, of Westmoreland County, was appraised in detail in the inventory made June 15, 1724. This library was well supplied with legal works and also contained a number of plays. Swinburn's Bills was valued at ten shillings, while two volumes of Cook Upon Littleton was appraised at f2 3s. Cato, so much played in early America, was listed as worth one shilling, and Sir Robert Howard's Plays were valued at five shillings.²⁴ Geoffrey Pole, who was a Committee Clerk in the House of Burgesses from 1718 to 1727, actually made the books in his library accessible to his friends. The catalogue, compiled sometime before his death in 1730, contained over one hundred works. The listed titles of some of these were followed by the names of individuals to whom the books had been loaned. For example, "Chancer's Works - Lent to Dr. Cook, History of Venice by Howell - Lent Mrs. Ferguson, Tavenant on Resumptions - Lent Mann Page Esq., Annals of Queen Ann - Lent Capt: Randolph, [and] Waller's Poems - Lent Orland Jones." Milton's Paradise Lost had also been loaned but the name of the borrower was erased. If this is to be accepted as evidence of its return, the lack of other erasures is ominous. Officium Clerici pacis was taken by the Attorney-General and The Chirurgione Vado Mecum was appropriately borrowed by David Wilkinson, M. D. Evidently, Mr. Pole's library enjoyed ample official, professional and private patronage.²⁵ Richard Hickman, clerk of the Virginia Council, whose inventory was recorded in May, 1732, left de-

tailed information concerning the value of his books. There were over one hundred and thirty different titles listed in this collection, many of which were concerned with legal matters. Each work was valued separately. Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown stood at £1 10s.; the two volumes of Lock on Human Understanding were set at nine shillings; while The Art of Thinking and Speaking was modestly priced at four shillings. The entire library was appraised at £54 6s. 2d. sterling.²⁶

Robert Beverley, the Virginia historian, possessed a comprehensive collection of books, the record of which was filed in Spotsylvania County in 1734. The library consisted of 221 titles and totalled 270 volumes. There were several works upon geography and travel, and numerous classics. The collection includes Milton's Paradise Lost, Locke's Works in three volumes, Pope's Homer in six volumes, Hudibras, Ovid's Metamorphoses, The Beggars' Opera, eight volumes of the spectator, and four volumes of the Tatler.²⁷ Beverley's personal literary achievement was the History of Virginia. In the preface of this book he stated that it was written while he was in England in 1703. A London bookseller had asked him to offer some criticisms upon the account of Virginia and Carolina in Olmixon's British Empire in America and Beverley was so disgusted with the English historian's misrepresentations that he wrote his own account of the development of the Old Dominion, using notes he had brought from Virginia. The result was the completion of The History and Present State of Virginia.²⁸ In this book Beverley makes at least twenty allusions to works by other authors but only

three of these - Puffendorf, Lord Bacon, and Pliny - are listed in his library catalogue.²⁹ The works of seven of the writers mentioned by Beverley in his history were in the Byrd library at Westover.³⁰ William Byrd II had made his book collection available to other writers and, as Beverley had married Byrd's sister, Ursula, there can be little doubt that the library at Westover was used for reference by the Virginia historian. The other bibliographical material mentioned by Beverley was probably found in England. Like the Byrds, Robert Beverley considered his book collection of enough importance to have book-plates made for use in his library.³¹

Another Virginia writer of note during the first half of the eighteenth century was the Reverend William Stith at one time minister of Henrico Parish and also professor at William and Mary College. His greatest success was The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, published in Virginia in 1747. The work was carefully done and considerable research was undertaken by the author in the library at Westover, assisted by Colonel William Byrd II.³² The Reverend Mr. Stith also possessed a library of importance although a catalogue listing the titles has not been revealed. The collection numbered several hundred books as Dr. Charles Brown, of Williamsburg, had bequeathed to Mr. Stith in 1738 over six hundred volumes upon natural philosophy and physics. The library of Dr. Brown was appraised at £108 4s. 7d. Some of the books belonging to the Brown library were missing and were later located. These were "Garranpoets Anatomy lent to

Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie f0 04, 00, Shaws Practice of Physick
 2 vols in the Rev^d M^r John Foxes hands f0 06 00, [and]
 Taliaacoteas lent to B^r John Amson f0 02 06.³³ With such a
 valuable collection of books at his disposal, the Reverend
 Mr. Stith was well equipped for his three occupations of
 writer, minister, and professor.

The inventory of Captain Samuel Beachy, made in 1750,
 revealed over one hundred and fifty books. This collection
 contained many historical works and was the first to include
 Stith's History of Virginia.³⁴ At Williamsburg in 1755 oc-
 curred the death of Mr. Guthbert Ogle, one of the celebrated
 musicians of that place. The inventory of his estate is of
 interest as it contained a list of his instruments and works
 on music. "A Fiddle and Case" was valued at 21s. 6d., while
 a "Harpsichord and 2 Hammers" were worth f22 11s. 6d. The
 The musical works were valued at f13 5s. 4d. and included
 among others "10 Books Handels songs," "6 Sonatas Leggardino,"
 "12 English songs by Pasquati," "8 Concertos Avisons and
 Songs by Hasse."³⁵ Colonel John Waller, a relative of Edmund
 Waller the English poet, died in 1755 and the appraisal of
 his estate in Spotsylvania County listed over one hundred and
 fifty books. Colonel Waller, who had been a member of the
 House of Burgesses, was a son of John Waller the physician.
 The library is of interest because of the emphasis upon liter-
 ature and medical works. Among the former were Shakespeares's
Poems, The Dunciad, Tales of a Tub, Robinson Crusoe, and
 Milton's Paradise Lost. Some of the medical books were The

Whole Practice of Surgery, London Dispensatory, and The
Doctrine of Acids.³⁶

Colonel James Gordon, a wealthy Irish merchant and a planter, living in Lancaster County, Virginia, found time during the years 1759-1761 to keep a record of daily events in that locality. This journal reveals interesting information concerning the use of leisure time. On August 28, 1759, Colonel Gordon recorded that he "Gave several books among the negroes." Other entries put foundations under the reasonable inferences: that cultivated men living in detached homes, had ample time, and used it for reading and writing, and that their literary indulgences enlivened polite social conversation. "Rained all day ... Reading and writing all day as we are confined to the house" - October 8, 1759. "Mr. Boyd here till after dinner - had much agreeable conversation with him; made him a present of some books, which seemed very pleasing." - June 19, 1760. On September 7, of the same year, Colonel Gordon wrote that he had "finished Harvey's Dialogues" and on Sunday, November 2, he was "At home reading Marshall and Whitefield, two authors I much esteem."³⁸ The services conducted at the churches often irked Gordon, but he knew of an adequate refuge, and was thankful: "Blessed be God, we have comfortable books to read, as we have little or no instruction at Church," - September 20, 1761.³⁹

The latter half of the eighteenth century found more literature in the Virginia plantation libraries and less theology. The library of John Herbert, appraised in 1760,

contained 161 titles. The total number of volumes in the collection was 251, valued at £54 12s. Among the belles-lettres were Shakespeare's Plays, Pope's Works in 9 volumes, Swift's Miscellanies in 14 volumes, Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Addison's Works in 4 volumes. Although no information was given concerning Herbert's Poems and Herbert's Life of Henry the VII, there is a possibility that these works were written by relatives of John Herbert.⁴⁰ One of the most important of the pre-Revolution plantation libraries was that of 'Councillor' Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, Westmoreland County, Virginia. This collection contained over one thousand volumes in 1772 and in its diversity of subject matter was comparable to the library at Westover. It included Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations, Grotius On War and Peace, Raleigh's History of the World, Blackstone's Commentaries, Chancery's Tales, Montesquien's Spirit of Laws, and other titles. Some of the best literary works were found at Nomini Hall as Paradise Lost, Swift's Works in 13 volumes, Pope's Iliad and Shakespeare's Works in 8 volumes. The novel, also was there: Julia and Tom Jones. A further indication of Carter's appreciation of the great English dramatist was evidenced by the presence of Dodd's Beauties of Shakespeare in his library.⁴¹ Robert Carter frequently ordered the latest books and magazines from England. In 1761 he requested that Tristan Shandy; Churchill's Rosciad, Fenelon's Dialogues of the Dead, and four magazines be forwarded from London. Two Latin Grammars, and Aesop's Fables were desired

in 1765, while Johnson's Dictionary and Blackstone's Commentaries were ordered two years later.⁴² Colonel Carter shared his literary interests with his wife; they often read philosophy together.⁴³ This is one of the few instances recorded concerning reading by women in colonial Virginia and the only record of interest in such an abstract study as philosophy. The education of the Carter children was carefully considered and a competent tutor - Philip Fithian, a graduate of the college at Princeton, New Jersey - was employed in 1773 to instruct them. Fithian kept a journal which reveals much information concerning the Carter family. On November 1, 1773, he stated that "We began school. The school consists of eight. Two of Mr. Carters Sons, One Nephew; and five Daughters. The eldest Son is reading Salust; Gramatical Exercises, and latin Grammar. ... The eldest daughter is reading the Spectator; Writing; and beginning to Cypher."⁴⁴ Colonel Carter was interested in current affairs as Fithian recorded on Christmas, 1773, that "This morning came from the Post-office at Hobbes-Hole, on the Rappahannock, our News-papers. Mr. Carter takes the Pennsylvania Gazette, which seems vastly agreeable to me, for it is like having something from home."⁴⁵ Appreciation of art and music was also manifest at Nomini Hall. Dr. Burney's Present State of Music in France and Italy and Principles of Harmony were sent from Europe between 1771 and 1773.⁴⁶ The Carter library in 1772 contained Fresnay's Art of Painting, Webb On Painting, Handel's Opera for Flute in two volumes,

a Book of Italian Music, Malcolm On Music, Alexander's Facets, or the Power of Music, and seventeen volumes of music by various authors.⁴⁷ Commenting upon the musical ability of the master of Hemini Hall, Fithian stated that "Mr. Carter is practising this evening on the Guitar He begins with the Trumpet Minuet. He has a good Ear for Music: a vastly delicate Taste: and keeps good Instruments, he has here at Home a Harpsichord, Forte-Piano, Harmonica, Guitar, Violin, and German Flutes, and at Williamsburg, has a good Organ, he himself also is indefatigable in the Practice."⁴⁸ Although many other Virginians did not possess Colonel Carter's means and leisure to devote to cultural pursuits, they did possess book collections of value.

Three eighteenth century Anglican ministers in Virginia who possessed libraries were the Reverend Cronow Owen, The Reverend William Key, and the Reverend William Dunlop. The Reverend Mr. Owen, a distinguished Welsh poet and thorough Latin and Greek scholar, had been an instructor at Williamsburg in 1757 but intemperance had led to his dismissal in 1760. Later he secured a charge at St. Andrews Parish, Brunswick County, where he resided at the time of his death in 1769.⁴⁹ An inventory of his estate listed a number of books, mostly upon theology, together with a collection of 150 works in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Welsh and French.⁵⁰ The Reverend William Key, whose death occurred in 1770, possessed a library of over one hundred and fifty volumes, besides some manuscripts, music and maps. The total appraised value of

the collection was £24 16s. 2d.⁵¹ One of the largest libraries in Virginia belonging to a minister was that of the Reverend William Dunlop who served parishes in King and Queen County and Fanover County. While in the former location, the Reverend Mr. Dunlop advertised that he had engaged a tutor for his sons and that he would accommodate two or three other boys in his home where "a library of several thousand volumes in most arts and sciences ... shall be free to the inspection of such youth as shall be under his care."⁵²

One of the prominent young leaders of the Old Dominion was Pabney Carr, brother-in-law of Thomas Jefferson's. Carr's promising career was cut short by his death in 1773. His library contained over two hundred volumes, seventy of which were legal works. Many of Carr's law books were quite valuable as three volumes of Peera Williams Reports were appraised at £25.⁵³ A Virginia book collection of which little is known is that of Peyton Randolph, first President of the Continental Congress. Randolph made his will in 1774 directing that his books should be sold to pay his debts but no catalogue was included to show what books were in his possession.⁵⁴

After the beginning of the revolution, loyalists were under suspicion and the property of many of them was seized. The estate of Lord Dunmore was taken by the Virginia authorities and his library and personal effects were offered for sale at public auction.⁵⁵ Nicholas Brossell, a young Englishman residing in Virginia, was suspected of loyalist activities. It was discovered that he had a copy of Haller's the three lions

Fortification and Cannery in his possession and there was some talk of imprisoning him. Croswell was paroled, however, and during the time of his parole escaped to England.⁵⁶ The personal property of the Fairfax family apparently escaped confiscatory action. After the death of Thomas Lord Fairfax, an inventory of his personal property was made in 1782 showing a book collection of some importance.⁵⁷

Several libraries of value were recorded and appraised during and after the Revolution. The collection of Peter Presley Thornton, appraised in 1781, was of interest in showing the inflated values of Continental currency. Two volumes of Rapin's History of England listed at £3 sterling were worth one hundred and eighty dollars in American currency.⁵⁸ David Black's inventory of the following year listed 222 volumes in his library valued at £50 18s. He was provided with solace for lonely hours: The Fair Circassian, The Persian Letters, and The Female Foundling.⁵⁹ The library of Colonel William Fleming contained 324 volumes valued at £176 1s. 6d. Colonel Fleming had received his education in medicine at the University of Edinburgh and settled in Virginia where he practiced his profession. During the Revolution he rendered valuable service to the American cause. His library reflected the diversity of interests of the educated man of the time.⁶⁰ Major Charles Dick, of Fredricksburg, possessed a small but well-selected collection of books, worthy of especial note because of the fact that it contained only two works upon religion - the Bible, and Scott's Christian Life.⁶¹ Patrick Henry also possessed

a library that may be similarly described. At the time of his death in 1799 there were over two hundred volumes in the collection at Red Hill. Books of history and religion were present, but the greater emphasis was upon law.⁶² John Randolph of Roanoke was a cultured Virginia gentleman and possessed a large and well-selected assemblage of books. Part of these were kept in his summer house and they remained in special cases near his sleeping room, easily available. One of the many notable features of the Randolph library was the superb bindings of some of the books.⁶³

Although there were many fine plantation libraries in Virginia, the neighboring colonies to the south were not devoid of reading material. In North Carolina large libraries were not so much in evidence as in Virginia, but small collections of books find frequent mention. Upon the death of Frederick Jones, in 1782, his will stated that "I give unto my three Sons, to be equally divided among them, all my Library of books, Except those books commonly used by my wife which I have ordered to be put into her Closets."⁶⁴ It is to be regretted that no catalogue of this library was recorded to show the reading material used in North Carolina. It is interesting to note, however, that Mr. Jones mentioned his wife's use of the library. Books were borrowed by the eighteenth century North Carolinians as indicated by the will of William Little in 1754. He requested "That my books lent out, be got in, and all my books sold, and out of ye produce two negroes to be bought."⁶⁵ This collection of books must have been of some

value if the proceeds of the sale were sufficient to buy two Negroes.

One of the most important libraries in North Carolina was the property of Edward Moseley. He had been greatly interested in Dr. Bray's parochial libraries, and as early as 1720 had contributed to their support. In 1723 Mr. Moseley also donated seventy-six volumes, worth approximately £100, toward a provincial library to be kept at Edenton.⁶⁶ Edward Moseley was prominent in political affairs in the colony for nearly half a century, sitting in both houses of the Assembly and occupying the Speaker's chair in the lower house on several different occasions. He was a member of the boundary commission of 1728 made famous by Colonel William Byrd's History of the Dividing Line.⁶⁷ He was also a cartographer as Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, in 1744, requested from William Black, merchant in London. "A Map of North Carolina, by Edward Moseley made in 1743 dedicated to Gabriel Johnson Gov^r sold at the 3 Crooks over against Blincoing lane in Fan Church Street."⁶⁸ Mr. Moseley was a man of wealth as he had a large law practice and possessed twenty-five thousand acres of land. At the time of his death in 1749 Moseley's private library contained nearly four hundred volumes although no catalogue of his books has been preserved.⁶⁹

Another library of note in North Carolina was that of the Johnston family. Governor Gabriel Johnston had married Penelope Eden, daughter of Ex-Governor Eden. Part of the Eden library came into Johnston's possession in this way. The col-

lection was greatly increased by Governor Johnston before his death in 1752.⁷⁰ In his will provisions were made that "My Books I leave to William Cathcart, Esqr., after my wife and Brother have Choose out of them any Number not exceeding Forty Each."⁷¹

Other women of colonial North Carolina continued to receive bequests of books. James Innes, in 1754, provided that his wife should enjoy the use of his books during her life. After her death, the library was to be used for educational purposes.⁷² The following year James Craven's will allowed his wife to select fifty volumes of books out of his library.⁷³

Books were conspicuous in North Carolina during the Revolutionary period. A number which has been the property of Governor Martin were left at New Bern and ordered to be sold by Congress in 1777. These included The Deserted Village, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Shakespeare's Works, and others.⁷⁴ The property seized from the Loyalists included books as one record of confiscated goods listed thirty-three volumes.⁷⁵ Many military and technical works were furnished to officers and to the Council of Safety. In 1776 the Continental Congress sent to the North Carolina Council "144 Sets of Simeon's Military guide, 2 vol each [and] 24 New System of Military Discipline."⁷⁶ Some of the North Carolinians who were absent with the American Army, also left careful instructions to prevent their libraries from falling into the hands of the British marauders but books were lost in spite of these precautions.⁷⁷

Greater evidence of book purchasing and literary activity was meanwhile apparent in South Carolina. Early in the eighteenth century residents of South Carolina were ordering books from England. In 1709 Joseph Lord wrote to Sir Hans Sloane desiring his Natural History of Brazil.⁷⁸ Upon the death of Colonel John Godfrey in 1717 his will provided that one son should receive his law books, another his mathematicall books and his grandson should receive all or part of his physical books.⁷⁹ It was towards the middle of the century, however, that books became more evident among the planters and merchants of South Carolina.

Miss Eliza Lucas, later Mrs. Eliza Pinckney, left much information concerning the use of books after 1740. About that time she wrote to her friend Mrs. Boddicott in England stating that "Wee are 17 mile by land, and 6 by water from Charles Town where wee have about 6 agreeable families around us with whom wee live in great harmony. I have a little library well furnished (for my Papa has left me most of his books) in w^{ch} I spend part of my time."⁸⁰ In 1741 she wrote to friends in Charleston mentioning the fact that she usually read from five until seven every morning and later in the morning spent her time in teaching two negro girls to read.⁸¹ Shortly after this Miss Lucas was reading law sufficient to enable her to assist neighbors in drawing up wills.⁸² Her reading habits had been greatly encouraged by Colonel Charles Pinckney, and even before their marriage, he had frequently loaned books to her. Sometime before his death, which occurred

in 1758, Colonel Pinckney made careful provisions for the disposal of his books and for the education of his three children.⁸³ Amidst the sorrows of widowhood, the care of managing the estate, and the worries of raising the three children, Eliza Pinckney still found time to devote to reading. A letter, written in 1761, referring to her daughter stated that "She will write to you herself and return you thanks for the books you were so good to send her. She is fond of learning, and I indulge her in it."⁸⁴ Even during the trying times of the Revolution, when danger threatened her two sons, her daughter and their families, Mrs. Pinckney found comfort in her books.⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that the last letter written by Mrs. Pinckney, in 1786, was to thank Mr. Keate, an English author, for a book he had sent.⁸⁶

Other South Carolinians were reading books during the middle period of the eighteenth century. Robert Pringle, a resident of Charleston, kept a journal in 1746 and 1747. On July 30th, 1746 he loaned a book of maps to Benjamin Savage, while on August 8th it was recorded that he "lent the Rev^d: R: Betham 1st: Vol: of a Tour & Nelsons Feasts and Fasts."⁸⁷ In December of the same year Baron La Hontan's Memoire were lent to James Michie and on February 25, following, Grotius' Rights of War and Peace was sold to Marshall and Blyth.⁸⁸ Gabriel Manigault, a prominent resident of Charleston, had sent his son Peter to England for his education. Many letters passed between them concerning books. Peter Manigault wrote from London in 1750 concerning a book, The Oeconomy of Human Life,

which he was sending to his father.⁸⁹ The following year a communication to his mother informed her that he had sent books valued at £3. 10s. 2d. sterling to William Banbury, a cousin.⁹⁰ Four volumes of Amelia and five magazines were sent to Charleston in 1752.⁹¹ In 1754, before returning to South Carolina to make his home, Peter Manigault had a bookplate prepared by one of the professional plate-makers located near the Royal Exchange in London.⁹² Henry Laurens was another prominent resident of Charleston who was much interested in books. He acknowledged the receipt of five volumes of Rapin's History in 1747, together with some bound copies of the Spectator.⁹³ Thirty years later, during the Revolution, he was supervising the management of some of Ralph Izard's property while the latter was absent in Europe. Laurens wrote of having Izard's library opened and the books cleaned but stated that he had never been able to secure a catalogue of the library.⁹⁴

Thus during the eighteenth century the Southern planters increased the size of their book collections as is indicated by their writings and the records left by contemporary observers. Interest in the latest literary productions was evident. A Mr. Parkin of Baltimore assembled a notable collection of books in the period after the American Revolution. Between three hundred and four hundred books were purchased in England and France and brought to Maryland to form this collection. Among the works in this library were Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, first published in 1776, Hume's History of England.

Buffon's Works in seventy-six volumes, Voltaire's Works in seventy volumes, Rousseau's Works in thirty-seven volumes, Montesquieu's Works and Sully's Memoirs. The library was of especial interest owing to the emphasis upon the works of the French philosophes. Thus the Southern planters of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, drew inspiration from the great European writers. Some of this political and social philosophy was the basis for the actions of the leaders in the Revolutionary era and the early national period.⁹⁵

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1. "Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," Maryland Historical Magazine, XXVI (March, 1931), p. 52.
2. "Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq.," Idem., III (Sept. 1916), p. 282.
3. "Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esquire," Maryland Historical Magazine, III (Dec. 1908), pp. 339-340; "Calvert Memorabilia," Idem., XI (Sept. 1916), p. 282. Lewis, a Maryland schoolmaster, wrote poetry and translated Goldsworth's Muscipula, dedicating these works to Calvert and having them printed by Parks at Annapolis.
4. "Account and Letter Book of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," Idem., XVIII (Sept. 1923), p. 233.
5. Ibid., XX (June, 1925), pp. 177-178.
6. Ibid., XXI (Sept. 1926), pp. 248-249.
7. Ibid., XXI (Sept. 1926), pp. 259-260.
8. Ibid., XXVI (Sept. 1931), pp. 242-243.
9. Ibid., XVIII (Sept. 1923), p. 197.
10. "Extracts From the Carroll Papers," Idem., X (June, 1915), p. 144.
11. Kate Mason Rowland, The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton 1737-1782, I (New York, 1898), p. 24.
12. "Extracts From the Carroll Papers," Maryland Historical Magazine, X (Sept. 1915), p. 236.
13. Ibid., X (Dec. 1915), p. 324.

14. Ibid., X (Dec. 1915), p. 343.
15. Ibid., XI (June, 1916), pp. 180-181; (Dec. 1916), p. 232.
16. Ibid., XII (March, 1917), p. 38.
17. Ibid., XIII (Sept. 1918), p. 261.
18. McHenry Howard, "Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland,"
Idem., XVIII (Dec. 1923), p. 297.
19. "Reminiscences of Thomas Ridout," Idem., XX (Sept. 1925),
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20. "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," William and Mary College
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Mary College," William and Mary College Quarterly, Series
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25. "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents," Virginia Magazine of
History and Biography, XVII (Apr. 1909), pp. 147-150.
26. "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," William and Mary College
Quarterly, Series I, III (Apr. 1895), pp. 248-250.
27. "Library of Robert Beverley," Virginia Magazine of His-
tory and Biography, III (Apr. 1896), pp. 388-391.
28. Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of
Virginia, (London, 1722), pp. A2-A3.

29. Ibid., pp. 180, 190, 274; "Library of Robert Beverley,"
op. cit., III:388-391.
30. J. S. Bassett, Editor, The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esq. (N. Y. 1901), pp. 418 et seq; Beverley, op. cit., pp. 1, 109, 117-119, 152-153, 160-161, 165, 247, 260. (The works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Purchas, Hempsin, Ishonten, Captain John Smith, Sir Josiah Child, and Mahomet, referred to by Beverley were listed in the catalogue of the Byrd library.)
31. "Robert Beverley," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, III (Apr. 1896), p. 384.
32. William Stith, The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (Virginia, 1753) Preface p. v.
33. "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," William and Mary College Quarterly, Series I, III (Apr. 1895), p. 151.
34. "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," Idem., Series I, III (Oct. 1894), pp. 132-134.
35. *Ibid., pp. 251-252.
36. "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," Idem., Series I, V, II (July, 1899), pp. 77-79.
37. "Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Virginia," William and Mary College Quarterly, Series I, XI (Oct. 1902), pp. 108-109.
38. Idem., XI (Jan. 1903), pp. 201-204.
39. Idem., XI (Apr. 1903), p. 234.
40. "Library of John Herbert," Virginia Magazine of History

- and Biography, XVIII (Apr. 1910), pp. 181-185.
41. *John H. Williams, Contrib., "A Catalogue of Books in the Library of Councillor Robert Carter," William and Mary College Quarterly, Series I, X (Apr. 1902), pp. 232-241.
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Chapter V

BOOKS OF THE VIRGINIA DYNASTY

The economic and social system of colonial Virginia nourished and exalted men of great political ability and personal culture. From among these came four of the first five presidents of the United States, a quartette of eminent men known to the informed world as the Virginia Dynasty.

George Washington received little formal education, but he developed a high regard for books and collected an extensive library during his lifetime. It was during the French and Indian War that his correspondence first disclosed information concerning his reading. In September, 1757, he wrote from Fort Mifflin to Anthony Bason & Company thanking them for a magazine he had received.¹ A communication the following year to Mrs. George William Fairfax indicated that Washington had read Addison's Cato.²

After his marriage to Mrs. Martha Custis, Washington was appointed guardian of the Custis children and he was zealous in promoting their interest and welfare. His concern for education is portrayed by the fact that in 1759, the year of his marriage, he ordered from London "6 little books for children begg. to read".³ These books were included in an invoice of merchandise sent to Mount Vernon in March, 1760, by Robert Cary & Co.⁴ The following year a parcel of books was dis-

patched by the same London merchants for the use of John Parke Custis and 'Patsy' Custis. This consignment included a Bible and a prayer book for each child. These volumes were bound in Turkish leather and the children's names in gilt were on the inside of the cover. There were twelve titles in this shipment including Phaedrus Fables and Littleton's Latin and English Dictionary.⁶ In 1769, after John Parke Custis' education was undertaken by the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, a large number of books were ordered by Washington for the use of the young man. These included Cicero's Works in 20 volumes, Blackwell's Sacred Classics, Hume's History of England, Kennet's Roman Antiquities, and forty-four other titles, making a total of about seventy-five volumes in the shipment.⁶ In the meantime Washington was adding books to his own library.

George Washington was a gentleman planter. He was greatly interested in agriculture and frequently ordered books on farming. Repeated attempts were made to secure a copy of Hale's Husbandry from Robert Cary and Company but without success. Later he learned that the wrong title had been given and rectified this misinformation by ordering, in 1760, "A Compleat Body of Husbandry compiled from the Original Papers of the late Thomas Hale Esqr., enlarged from the Collection of others ... together with Hartlib's Legacy of Husbandry".⁷ The previous year he had requested A New System of Agriculture or a Speedy Way to grow Rich, Longley's Book of Gardening.

and Gibson's Diseases of Horses, to be sent from London.⁸ That these books were received is shown by the inventory of the library at Mount Vernon made some years later.⁹

Washington's attachment to the Anglican Church, and his participation in local government, were evidenced by his order, in 1771, of "A Prayer Book covd. with red Morocco, to be 7 Inchs. long 4½ wide, and as thin as possible for the greater ease of carryg. in the Pocket," together with the newest edition of Richard Burn's The Justice of Peace and Parish Officer in four volumes.¹⁰

For many years Washington was connected with military affairs and during that time he became greatly interested in military science and tactics. Shortly after Braddock's defeat, the young Virginia officer wrote to England for Bland's Military Discipline which he later recommended to the officers under his command.¹¹ Colonel Washington became acquainted with Count Turpin de Crisse's Essai sur l'art de la Guerre when he accompanied General Forbes to Fort Duquesne. An English translation of this work by Captain Joseph Otway was obtained by Washington and was in the library at Mount Vernon.¹² He continued his military studies and by the beginning of the Revolution was familiar with many of the works upon military tactics. After accepting the command of the American army, Washington wrote to Colonel William Woodford of Virginia in November, 1775, stating that "The manual exercise, the evolutions and manoeuvres of a regiment, with other knowledge

necessary to a soldier, you will acquire ... from these authors, who have treated upon these subjects, among whom Bland (the newest edition) stands foremost; also an Essay on the Art of War; Instructions for Officers lately published at Philadelphia; the Partisan; and others".¹³ The Instructions for Officers was Thomas Simes' Military Guide for Young Officers which had been published in London in 1753 and was reprinted by Robert Aitken at Philadelphia in 1775.¹⁴

General Washington was interested in history, purchasing many volumes and encouraging writers in this field. The Reverend William Gordon, an Englishman who had strongly sympathized with the revolting colonists, received encouragement from Mount Vernon when he was writing his History of the American Revolution in 1788.¹⁵ When the work was completed in 1791, a complimentary set was forwarded to the first President of the United States.¹⁶ In 1796 Washington sent a letter to Jeremy Belknap, who was contemplating writing several volumes of American Biography, offering his support to the project by pledging himself as a subscriber to the work.¹⁷ The many and long interruptions of Washington's private affairs by public service greatly disturbed his reading habits. It was not easy for him quickly to enjoy cultivated leisure upon his final retirement. His time was claimed by many duties following his long neglect of domestic matters. "I have not looked into a book since I came home," he wrote to Secretary of War McHenry in 1797, "nor shall I be able to do it until I

have discharged my workmen, probably not before the nights grew longer, when possibly," he added with a touch of unconscious prophecy, "I may be looking in Doomsday-book."¹⁸

At the time of his death in 1799 Washington possessed a large collection of books including a number of volumes from the library of Daniel Parke Custis. The Custis library consisted of over four hundred and fifty volumes which were partially divided between Washington and John Parke Custis after the marriage of the latter's mother to the owner of Mount Vernon.¹⁹ Washington's regard for his books was evinced by the fact that many of them were marked with book-plates.²⁰ These book-plates were requested to be procured by Robert Adam who was going to England in 1771. Along with other merchandise, there was ordered "A plate with my Arms engraved and 4 or 500 copies struck."²¹ The Washington library contained over twelve hundred volumes of books and bound periodicals, together with a large number of charts and maps.²² The collection contained some literature and many works upon history and political affairs. It included Don Quixote, Swift's Works, Shakespeare's Works, Gibbon's Roman Empire, Rumay's Revolution of South Carolina, Monroe's View of the Executive, and many others. Military treatises were conspicuous by their presence and in addition to the works cited heretofore were Vallence's Fortifications, Muller's Artillery, and numerous other books upon army discipline and tactics.²³

The books of Washington were kept in eight cases in a south room used as a library at Mount Vernon. In his will

he bequeathed "To my nephew Bushrod Washington ... all the papers in my possession which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this Country:- I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving:- and at the decease of my wife and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of Books and pamphlets of every kind."²⁴ Bushrod Washington, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, did not interfere with the estate during the survival of his uncle's widow.²⁵ Upon the death of Mrs. Washington in 1802, her books were bequeathed to her grandson George Washington Parke Custis.²⁶ These books were evidently personally owned by Mrs. Washington for shortly after her decease Justice Bushrod Washington took possession of the library and the estate of Mount Vernon devised to him by his famous uncle. In 1810, when an inventory of the estate was made, the library was appraised at \$2350.00.²⁷ Washington's library was of considerable size, but another book collection of far more importance was located at Monticello, near Charlottesville, Virginia.

Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas Jefferson, was a man of some talent. He cooperated with Joshua Fry in preparing a map of Virginia. It received wide recognition and a copy was used in making a French map of Virginia and Maryland in 1786 by Robert de Vaugondy, official Geographer of the King of France.²⁸ George Washington also possessed a copy of the Fry and Jefferson map as it was found in the Mount Vernon library at the time of

his death. Jonathan Boucher, in a letter to England in 1767, recommended the "Map of Maryland & Virginia by Fry & Jefferson ... as 'tis much ye Best."²⁹ Upon the death of Peter Jefferson in 1757, he left a number of books including Rapin's History of England, Ogilvie's Description of America, Anson's Voyage Around the World, and several other works.³⁰

Thomas Jefferson, the eldest son of Peter Jefferson, was born in 1743 and received his early education in a school at Tuckahoe, Virginia. Later he attended Douglas' Latin School and matriculated at William and Mary College in 1760. He graduated in 1762 and the same year entered the office of George Wythe where he devoted himself assiduously to the study of law.³¹ Jefferson evidently did not find it an enjoyable pastime as he wrote to John Page on Christmas, 1762, stating that "I do wish the Devil had old Coke, for I am sure I never was so tired of an old dull scoundrel in my life." This letter also revealed that the young law student was a classical scholar as he quoted both Latin and Greek phrases.³² The following year he again wrote to this friend lamenting that eye trouble made reading impossible for the time being.³³ Another letter to Page in 1764 requested the use of The Statutes of Great Britain.³⁴

Even as a young man Jefferson began assembling a library. By 1770 he had a collection of some importance as he wrote to John Page that "My late loss may perhaps have reached by this time; I mean the loss of my mother's house by fire,

and in it of every paper I had in the world, and almost every book. On a reasonable estimate I calculate the cost of the books burned to have been £200 sterling. Would to God it had been the money, then had it never cost me a sigh! To make the loss more sensible, it fell principally on my books of Common Law, of which I have but one left, at that time lent out."³⁵

Soon steps were taken to replace the loss. In 1771 Jefferson wrote to Thomas Adams, a Virginia merchant then residing in London, stating that he had ordered books from Waller and from Benson Pearson to the value of nearly £90 sterling.³⁶

An agreement was made between Jefferson and John Randolph in April, 1771, to the effect that if the former died first, Randolph was to receive books to the value of £600 sterling, or cash to make up the deficiency if there were insufficient books. In return Thomas Jefferson was to receive Randolph's violin and his music, or books to the value of £60 sterling in lieu thereof if the violin was destroyed.³⁷ This agreement was cancelled in 1775 when Jefferson purchased the Randolph violin.³⁸

Writing to Robert Skipwith from Monticello on August 3, 1771, concerning book selection, Jefferson stated that "I sat down with a design of executing your request to form a catalogue to books to the amount of about 50 sterl. But could by no means satisfy myself with any partial choice I could make. Thinking therefore it might be agreeable to you I have framed a general collection as I think you would wish and might in time find convenient to procure." He then

proceeded to discuss the value of reading fiction and scouted the idea that anything could be useful but "Greek and Roman reading."³⁹

After the beginning of the American Revolution, Jefferson was so active in contemporary affairs that he had little leisure for reading. This diversion was greatly missed for he wrote in 1776 wondering when he "Should have time to look into books again."⁴⁰ Books continued to arrive from Europe for the library at Monticello in spite of the war, however, as Dr. Richard Price's Observations of Civil Liberty was received a short time after the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence. Negotiations were also opened with the Reverend Samuel Henley, of England, in 1778 for the purchase of that clergyman's books stored in Williamsburg if their sale was contemplated.⁴¹ The Reverend Mr. Henley gladly accepted Jefferson's offer fearing that the books would be lost or destroyed otherwise.⁴²

In 1781 Jefferson resigned his office as Governor of Virginia and retired to his beloved mountain expressing the hope that he would not be obliged to leave his farm and his books again.⁴³ It was there that the Marquis De Chastellux found him so comfortably situated when he stopped at Monticello for a visit while on the way to see the natural bridge. The Marquis wrote of Jefferson's delightful home, of his library, and, above all, of the great charm and

diversity of interest and learning of the man himself.⁴⁴
 In 1781 Jefferson began writing his famous Notes on Virginia in reply to an inquiry sent out by the French ministry for the purpose of gaining information concerning the condition of the several American States. This work was recast and supplemented. It was not until later, however, that the earnest entreaties of his friends in America and Europe finally persuaded Jefferson to offer the book for publication. A French translation appeared in 1786 and an edition was published in English by John Stockdale of London in 1787.⁴⁵
 The book was published in Philadelphia in 1788 and by 1801 the work had gone through nine American editions. A German translation was published at Leipzig in 1789.⁴⁶

After the death of Mrs. Jefferson in 1782, the care and education of his daughters was a great problem for the owner of Monticello. While attending the sessions of Congress, Jefferson placed his daughter Martha with a Mrs. Hopkinson of Philadelphia. Frequent correspondence with the child guided her in her studies. She was advised to spend at least three hours daily reading English and French, three hours practicing music, and the remainder of the time dancing, drawing, and writing.⁴⁷

When Jefferson was appointed Minister to the French Court, his contact with men of eminence in Europe stimulated his interest in books and scientific experiments. Corresponding with Charles Thompson in June, 1786, he explained

the tragedy which befell a French ballonist, who attempted to cross the English Channel, when the balloon caught fire and both operators were killed.⁴⁸ Jefferson not only purchased books for himself while in Paris, but he also searched the book-stalls for works of interest for his friends. Some of the books sent to America in 1785 were: four volumes of the Bibliothèque Physico-Oeconomique for Dr. Styles; a thirteen volume work by Felice upon natural and municipal law for Edmund Randolph; and miscellaneous works for George Wythe, Mr. Page, and Peter Carr.⁴⁹ His commissions were not limited to searching for books in Europe for American friends; but extended to seeking the American booksellers for French friends. On one occasion Buffon, the French Naturalist, sought his assistance in procuring a pamphlet on attraction and repulsion, written by Cadwallader Colden. Jefferson enlisted his friends to search Pennsylvania and New Jersey book-markets for a copy of this treatise but no evidence survived showing that the quest was successful.⁵⁰ David Ramsay's History of the Revolution of South Carolina was also popular in Europe. It was translated into French and was also offered for sale in England but Jefferson lamented that "They are ... altering Dr. Ramsay's book in London in order to accommodate it to the English palate and pride. I hope this will not be done without the consent of the author & I do not believe that will be obtained."⁵¹ He also acted as literary critic for the Reverend William Gordon who sent two volumes of his History of the American Revolution for Jefferson's inspection.⁵²

While residing in France, Thomas Jefferson kept in close touch with affairs at home. In August, 1785, he wrote to his nephew Peter Carr outlining for him a course of reading. This was to begin with the works of the ancient historians as Herodotus and Thucydides, followed by Roman history, modern history, Greek and Latin poetry, philosophy, and the best works in English literature as Milton's Paradise Lost and Shakespeare's Works. That this advice might be more easily followed, a number of books were ordered sent to young Carr from London.⁶³ Books were also sent to the Reverend James Madison, President of William and Mary College, for his own personal reading and for the use of the students. A present of books sent by the King of France for the use of the college was acknowledged by the Reverend Mr. Madison in a letter to Jefferson dated April 10, 1786.⁶⁴

Books and pamphlets were secured from different parts of Europe for the library at Monticello. Jean Fahbroni sent a treatise on agriculture from Florence, Italy, in 1786 and wrote Jefferson in French begging him to accept the gift.⁶⁵ From Spain came the Letters of Fernand Cortez and from Lyons, France, some French works for Jefferson's use.⁶⁶ After his return to America in 1789, books by European writers continued to be imported for the library at Monticello.⁶⁷

Jefferson as a great humanitarian and apostle of democracy had much sympathy for the black race and was opposed to their condition of bondage. It was probably for this

reason, and because of the fact that great minds seek each other despite race and color, that Benjamin Banneker, a self-educated Maryland negro who did some notable work in astronomy and mathematics, turned to Jefferson for aid and counsel. Banneker published an almanac showing the results of his study, a copy of which was sent to the Secretary of State in 1791 for his own personal use.⁵⁸

After his resignation as Secretary of State, Jefferson returned to Monticello where he devoted his time to books, agriculture, and the organization of the political party in opposition to the Federalists. Books continued as an important item among the articles sent to and from Monticello. In 1795 Jefferson wrote to Judge Stuart of packing some boxes of books to be sent to Colonel Bell and Dabney Carr.⁵⁹ After the opposition political party was organized and Jefferson had returned to public life, he still found time for literary activity. In 1800 he thanked the Reverend James Madison for his care and safe return of a book by Dr. Priestley.⁶⁰ Three years later he wrote to Joseph Priestley thanking him for a treatise comparing Socrates and Jesus.⁶¹ During his first year as Chief Executive, President Jefferson spent \$391.30 for books and stationery.⁶² After his term of office expired, Jefferson retired to Monticello for the last time, devoting his remaining years to books, and to the establishment of the University of Virginia. Financial difficulties, however, soon made it necessary to dispose of

a large number of his books that he might raise money to meet certain obligations.

The burning of some of the public buildings in Washington by the British in 1814 was accompanied by the destruction of most of the books in the Library of Congress.⁶³ The replacement of these books was proposed and Jefferson offered his library for sale. After much Congressional debate, the offer was finally accepted. The book collection at Monticello was purchased for \$23,950.00 as a foundation for the new Library of Congress.⁶⁴

The Jefferson library at the time of its sale in 1816 consisted of nearly seven thousand volumes.⁶⁵ The collection had been accumulated during the course of nearly half a century through purchase and gift. A number of works at Monticello had been secured from the library of Dr. Benjamin Franklin when part of his books were offered for sale by Duffie, a Philadelphia bookseller, in 1803. One of the most outstanding gifts to Jefferson came in 1806 when George Wythe, his old mentor, devised to him "My books and small philosophical apparatus."⁶⁶ The books in the library at Monticello were classified under twelve different headings as outlined by Jefferson in a letter to James Ogilvie in 1806, including:

- (1) Ancient History; (2) Modern History; (3) Physics;
- (4) Natural History; (5) Technical Arts; (6) Ethics;
- (7) Jurisprudence; (8) Mathematics; (9) Gardening, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry; (10) Oratory;

(11) Criticism; and (12) Polygraphical.⁶⁷ This same general classification was followed for the more convenient arrangement of the books in the Library of Congress after they became the property of the United States.⁶⁸ The works in ancient history were mostly in Latin and French, although there were a few titles in English. Among the latter were Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Mitford's History of Greece, and Tracts in Ancient History by Priestley and Pabbronni. It is altogether probable that the tracts were written by Joseph Priestley and Jean Pabbronni, men with whom Jefferson had corresponded. Many of the works on modern history were in French, Italian, and Spanish, including Beverley's History of Virginia in French and Botta's History of the War of Independence in Italian. Among the books on American history in English were Burke's History of Virginia, Mather's Ecclesiastical History of New England, Holmes' American Annals, and Stith's History of Virginia. Works by Franklin, Humboldt, Deffen, Bush and Peale were listed in the section devoted to Physics, while the tract by Pabbronni, hitherto mentioned, was among the treatments on agriculture. Several books upon architecture were in the library as was to be expected of a man who could design such a building as the one that housed them. Among the philosophers whose knowledge contributed to the works in the Jefferson library were Plato, Kant, Locke, Spinoza, and Voltaire. Although Jefferson was accused of being an atheist, and pious ladies in New England hid their

Bibles when he became President, there were 188 works upon religion in his book collection.⁶⁹ The library purchased by Congress contained several hundred legal works including the Proceedings of the Virginia Company in England, mentioned in connection with the Byrd library, and other valuable manuscript material pertaining to the early history of the Old Dominion.⁷⁰

Thomas Jefferson's literary interest and zeal for book collecting did not end with the sale of his library in 1815. In 1819 he wrote to Vine Utley that "I never go to bed without an hour or a half hour's previous reading of something moral whereon to ruminate in the intervals of sleep."⁷¹ The same year he thanked Ezra Styles for sending a book, while in 1820 he sent to William Short his famous characterization of Jesus.⁷² A short time after this Jared Sparks was thanked for "Your favor of September 18th ... with the book accompanying it."⁷³ In spite of approaching old age and a greatly depleted fortune, Thomas Jefferson collected nearly one thousand books after his library was sold to Congress. This later collection was advertised for sale at auction in Washington in 1829.⁷⁴ Thus, Jefferson during his lifetime owned three libraries of note, the first, valued at £200 sterling which burned in his mother's house in 1770; the second consisting of nearly seven thousand volumes, sold to Congress in 1815; and the third, embracing nearly one thousand volumes possessed at the time of his death in 1826.

The library at Monticello was used by friends of Jefferson much as the Byrd library had been made available to other Virginians during an earlier period. In March, 1784, James Madison had written to Jefferson of his inability to use the library at Monticello at that time, but stated that Mr. L. Grymes and Mr. W. Maury had borrowed books there.⁷⁵ The book collection at Monticello reflected the great diversity of interest of Thomas Jefferson who was one of the greatest philosophers and statesmen that the New World has produced. He had profound respect for other great thinkers regardless of race, color, or creed. An incident depicting the difference between what he and Alexander Hamilton regarded as true greatness in a man was related in a letter to Benjamin Rush in 1811. Jefferson stated that "The room being hung around with a collection of the portraits of remarkable men, among them were those of Bacon, Newton, and Locke, Hamilton asked me who they were. I told him they were my trinity of the three greatest men the world had ever produced, naming them. He paused for some time: 'the greatest was', said he, 'that ever lived was Julius Caesar.'" ⁷⁶ Another man of great ability and great mental capacity who attracted Jefferson was his fellow-Virginian who succeeded him as President of the United States.

James Madison, the third of the Virginia dynasty, was also greatly interested in reading and book collecting. His early education was under the supervision of Gerald

Robertson, a Scotsman, and the Reverend Thomas Martin, a clergyman of Madison's home parish. Princeton College was selected as the proper institution of higher learning and there the young Virginian matriculated in 1769. After completing his college work, Madison returned to his home where he read and studied for two or three years. It was at this time that he revealed his attitude toward the correct subject matter for reading. In November, 1772, he wrote to a friend commending him upon his study of history and morals, but added that divinity should not be entirely neglected.⁷⁷ Shortly after this Madison entered public life and his ability soon was recognized in the Old Dominion. He was studying Dean Tucker's Tracts on the trouble between Great Britain and her American colonies in 1774.⁷⁸ Madison was elected as a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1780 and there he became a skillful debater revealing his knowledge of English constitutional law and the necessity of its application for the successful operation of the new government. He realized the need of a reference library for the use of the members of Congress and, as chairman of a committee, he recommended a list of books which should be purchased for that purpose. The recommendation went unheeded, however, and the books were not procured.⁷⁹

James Madison read widely and had a great diversity of interests. In 1784 he wrote to Thomas Jefferson of reading Buffon's work on natural history.⁸⁰ The following year

Jefferson, who was then in Paris, was commissioned to buy books for Madison. These were to be treatises on ancient and modern federal republics, and works by Pascal, Don Eliseo, and Linnaeus. Madison also replied to Jefferson's invitation to visit Europe stating that "This ... would be particularly inconvenient as it would break in upon a course of reading which, if I neglect now, I shall never resume."⁸¹ It is evident from this statement that Madison could not be lured away from his books even by the prospect of traveling in Europe with his close friend. The same year Madison wrote to Edmund Randolph that Coke's Littleton and other legal works were his "Chief society during the winter."⁸² Jefferson faithfully executed Madison's commission as the latter wrote, in 1786, of receiving from Havre de Grace two trunks of books mostly in French.⁸³ Two years later Madison wrote that he would attempt to dispose of some books sent to him by Philip Mazzei but had little hope of success because of the fact that they were all written in French.⁸⁴ After the strong antagonism arose between Hamilton and Jefferson while in the Cabinet, Madison became an adherent to the party of the latter. He sent a pamphlet to the Secretary of State in 1793 which he had annotated. Locke and Montesquieu were mentioned and Madison wrote that "I use Montesquieu, also from memory, tho' I believe without inaccuracy."⁸⁵

During the Napoleonic Wars, American shipping was often involved in questions of international law. Madison was much

concerned and, writing in 1806, referred to the views of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel, upon the rights of neutrals.⁸⁶ While Madison was Chief Executive of the United States, the question of purchasing Jefferson's library for the use of Congress arose and the President gave his hearty approval to the measure.⁸⁷ Upon his retirement from the Presidency, Madison made his home at Montpelier in Orange County, Virginia, managing his estate and devoting his leisure time to books and writing. He wrote to Jefferson in 1821 agreeing that "The tax imposed on books imported ... ought not to be" and that the small amount of revenue derived therefrom sacrificed intellectual improvement.⁸⁸ Although Madison corresponded with Jefferson concerning books and reading material until the time of the latter's death, he also discussed these matters with other individuals.⁸⁹ In 1817 he extended his thanks to J. B. Say for a treatise on political economy and expressed his pleasure to Carlo Botta, the Italian historian, for the receipt of Danillo.⁹⁰ The same year John Adams' present of a two volume work by Condorcet was acknowledged, while four years later Madison discussed with R. Chapman different plans for reading history and some of the good books in each field.⁹¹ In 1827 Madison extended to Edward Everett and his brother his gratitude for the present of the latter's work on America.⁹² Thus up until the time of his death in 1836 James Madison read much and showed great interest in whatever material he perused.

In his last will, drawn up in 1836, Madison stated that "I give to the University of Virginia all that portion of my library of which it has not copies of the same editions, and which may be thought by the Board of Visitors not unworthy of a place in its library, reserving to my wife the right first to select such particular books and pamphlets as she shall choose, not exceeding three hundred volumes."⁹³ No catalogue of the library was made but the book collection must have been large as Madison had been collecting books during his entire lifetime. From his father he had received a large number of books as the elder James Madison was much interested in literary matters and had purchased the library of Lord Dunmore when it was seized and offered for sale.⁹⁴ The library at Montpelier also included the books belonging to Dorothy Payne Todd Madison, wife of James Madison. The books devised to her by her first husband, John Todd, were valued at £187 18s 6d in the inventory of his estate, made in December, 1793.⁹⁵ The library at Montpelier was located in a room on the second floor. It has been stated that the walls and the center of the room were so filled with book-cases that there was barely room to pass by them.⁹⁶ The provisions of Madison's will regarding the library were not carried out by his widow and possession of the books by the University of Virginia was secured only through a lawsuit, settled after Mrs. Madison's death.⁹⁷ Although Madison did not show the

genius and versatility that characterized Jefferson, he was a man of great talent and literary ability as his writings reveal. His love of books is reflected in their frequent mention in his letters and by the large library which he collected.

Information concerning the literary interests of the next President of the United States who came from Virginia is limited to a great extent. James Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1758. After completing his preparatory schooling, Monroe entered William and Mary College in 1774 and remained there until he entered the Continental army in 1776. He remained in the service until 1780 and had been advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel when discharged. He had been recommended by Washington and Lord Stirling for further service but the exhausted finances of the country made the raising of a new regiment impossible. Monroe was compelled to retire from the service because of the lack of a command. He was greatly disappointed and retired to his home where he spent some time seeking solace in books.⁹⁸ Monroe soon entered public life and in 1783 was sent as a member of the Continental Congress from Virginia. During much of his life he was financially handicapped. An evidence of this was recorded in 1785 when he wrote to Jefferson in France thanking him for sending the Encyclopedia and promising to send the money soon although he did not have the amount at that time.⁹⁹ The same year Monroe

received a copy of Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, together with news of a balloon ascension and disaster in France.¹⁰⁰ In 1786 Jefferson had not been reimbursed for the Encyclopedia as Monroe expressed regret that he had not yet been able to tender payment.¹⁰¹ A few years later Monroe was in a position to reciprocate the favors of Jefferson and other Virginia friends. He was commissioned Minister to France in 1794, and two years later wrote to James Madison, from Paris, stating that "I wish you to send me a list of what other things you want & especially of books, & I will provide & send or bring them with me when I return home."¹⁰² Soon afterwards a similar offer was made to Jefferson who had desired additional volumes of the Encyclopedia.¹⁰³

Monroe's official conduct in France did not meet with the approval of the Federalist Party and he was recalled. He felt that his recall was not justified and upon his return wrote a book reviewing the whole affair. It bore the lengthy title of A View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States and the subject matter aroused much antagonism among the Federalists while the Jeffersonian party praised it highly. Many copies were sold and the work was later republished in London.¹⁰⁴ After the election of Jefferson, the question of an outlet at the mouth of the Mississippi River became serious and Monroe was appointed as one of the envoys to France in 1803 to

negotiate the purchase of Louisiana. Writing from New York before embarking, Monroe requested Jefferson to deliver a book sent for Mr. Volney.¹⁰⁵ The following September a volume written by a Mr. Williams was sent to the President from London by Monroe, while in 1804 he offered his services to Archibald Stuart if the latter desired the procuring of books from the English booksellers.¹⁰⁶ A letter to Jefferson, from Monroe, three years later expressed the hope that upon returning to Albemarle his "Many books ... will be in the state I left them."¹⁰⁷ While in Washington in 1812 as a member of Madison's Cabinet, Monroe contributed to his brother Joseph's support. He wrote to a friend stating that he had furnished money and books to Joseph Monroe hoping that this assistance would pave the way for self-support.¹⁰⁸

Two years later support was promised in the sale of Jefferson's library to Congress by the Secretary of War who regretted that the sacrifice was necessary.¹⁰⁹ After he became President of the United States, Monroe extended the use of his library to ambitious young men studying law. One profiting from this generosity was Thomas Gilmer, who received a letter from his brother in 1820 congratulating him upon his good fortune.¹¹⁰ James Monroe did not long survive after his retirement from the Presidency. His death occurred in 1831 at the home of his daughter in New York City. It is not known that a catalogue of his library was ever made so that any statement concerning its size and character must be merely a matter of conjecture.¹¹¹

The wide reading of this quartette of eminent men, especially of Jefferson and Madison, in history, law, and political philosophy, was revealed in their letters and other writings. Their literary talents were practically and immortally employed in connection with the writing of the two documents concerned with the founding of the United States. Thomas Jefferson was intimately concerned with the formulation and writing of the Declaration of Independence, while Madison was conspicuous among the writers of the Constitution of the United States.

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

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Chapter VI

SOURCES OF BOOKS FOR THE OLD SOUTH

"You shall chuse your Books with Care and Circumspection. When you have determin'd that it is Prudent to purchase a certain Work do so cautiously and make a shrewd Bargain with the Vendor" wrote Jared Bean, otherwise known as Philobiblos, in The Old Librarian's Almanac published in 1773.¹ although Jared Bean lived in New Haven, Connecticut, and published his almanac for the people of New England, his advice to the book buyers might well have been given for the benefit of the Southern planters who usually exercised careful discretion when purchasing reading material.

Most of the reading material for the South came from Europe throughout the seventeenth century as printing presses and booksellers were not found in Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas during that early period. Some of the early Virginians brought books with them to the colony and many sent requests and orders to friends, agents and booksellers. John Fory who was Secretary of the Colony in 1619, wished to keep posted upon affairs in England and wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton requesting books and the latest news.² Five years later Mr. John Harrison of England sent books valued at £1 14s. 0d to his brother George Harrison in Virginia.³ Books continued to be received in the Southern Colonies during the remainder of the seventeenth century, but it is difficult to ascertain whether they were imported with other merchandise or came

with the immigrants for letters concerning invoices seldom mentioned reading material. Toward the close of the century, however, there was specific mention of books ordered by planters.

As early as 1684 William Byrd I desired his friends to procure books for him in England and forward them to Virginia. He sent several similar requests during the remainder of the seventeenth century.⁴ Religious books, as is clear, were in important demand among those who read. The clergy especially were interested in the latest publications in England. John Clayton emigrated to Virginia in 1684 where he became minister of the church at the site of Jamestown. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to a friend in England imploring him to "send... an account of all new bookes Experiments and other things." Clayton appeared to have been a well-educated man but as he remained in America for only two years, there was little time for him to exert any positive influence in religious affairs.^{4a} William Fitzhugh wrote from Jamestown in 1690 to his brother Luke in England remarking that "Some of the newest books if they be ingenious will be mighty acceptable." In addition he desired Cusworth's Historical Collections and Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy.⁵ William Fitzhugh sent a copy of the Laws of Virginia to London to be printed in 1697 and a friend placed it in the hands of Hugh Newman, a bookseller, who desired the exclusive right to the printing and sale of the work. Fitzhugh replied that "His offer of

£20 for the purchase of the copy I think well enough, & shall willingly accept it in books too at booksellers' rates, to have them thus, a dozen handsomely bound; half a dozen of which I would beg your acceptance of and the remainder one-half ordinarily bound & the rest stitched." Hewman was advised to communicate with the Virginia merchants as there was a possibility that they would take some of the printed copies of the laws.⁶ South Carolinians were also ordering books from England in the seventeenth century as Thomas Howe wrote from Charleston in 1682 directing his father to send a volume upon physical plants and his brother's shop book.⁷ Information concerning book purchase made by the planters after 1700 is much more in evidence.

The usual method of procuring books from abroad was to request a friend, or the merchant with whom the planter conducted his business affairs, to visit the booksellers and select the volumes desired. These were sent to America along with other merchandise ordered by the planter. Payment was by means of tobacco sent directly to the English merchant or by bills of exchange if the commodity was rice, or indigo, shipped elsewhere. Books were often purchased by Virginia merchants and sold in the Old Dominion along with other merchandise.⁸ One method of advertising new books by foreign booksellers was to list the titles, together with their description and prices, in the back of other valuable books. Robert Beverley's The History and Present State of Virginia

contained lists of books for sale by four booksellers in London. Ben and Sam Cooke offered, among other works, Rushworth's Collections, Seneca's Morals, Addison's Works, and Dryden's Plays; while F. Payram advertised A Survey of the Spanish West Indies by Thomas Gage and Bayle's Dictionary. Buchanan's History of Scotland and W. Gibber's Plays were for sale by T. Bickerton in Water-Hoster-Row, while J. Clarke listed Buffendorff's Law of Nature and Nations and Feil's Anatomy.⁹ Clark, in 1734, also printed Hugh Jones' The Present State of Virginia and within its covers he quoted its selling price at one shilling, along with Beverley's The History of Virginia at 4s.6d. and A Compleat Body of Sea Laws at 10s.¹⁰

Printing was not encouraged in the South during the greater part of the seventeenth century. Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, in his famous reply to the questions of the Lord Commissioners of Foreign Plantations in 1671, regarding the state of his government, thus declared himself; "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged them."¹¹ It was not until 1682, after the close of the Berkeley regime, that an attempt was made to establish printing in Virginia. A press was imported by John Tucker, a merchant and book seller of Gloucester County, and set up at Jamestown. William Ruthven was employed to operate the press and plans

were made for issuing certain session laws but the Governor, Lord Thomas Culpeper, suspended operations until "His Maj'ties pleasure shall be known therein."¹² The problem was settled the following year when Lord Francis Howard of Effingham, the new Governor of Virginia, was instructed to prohibit printing within his colony.¹³ Consequently, Nuthead followed the example of other Virginians disgruntled with the restrictions of the Virginia laws and removed to Maryland. He set up a press in St. Marys, Maryland, and operated it until the time of his death about 1694 when it was removed to the new capital, Annapolis, by his widow, Dinah Nuthead, and operated there for a short time.¹⁴ The evidence indicates that the Nuthead press was the only one in operation in the South during the seventeenth century.

After 1700 printing activities in the South were less transitory. William Bladen had been given permission to establish a press in Annapolis in 1696 but it did not begin operation until 1700. The Necessity of an Early Religion, a sermon preached by the Reverend Thomas Bray before the Assembly of Maryland, was the first work set in type by Thomas Reading, the new printer employed by Bladen. Evan Jones, a bookseller of these oils, handled the distribution of this publication.¹⁵ Bladen and Reading were succeeded by Evan Jones and John Peter Zenger as the public printers of Maryland, but the typographical activities of these men were limited to the publication of the laws of the province and the printing of legal forms.¹⁶

It was not until the coming of William Parks to Maryland and Virginia that the publication of literary works was attempted. Parks established his press in Annapolis in 1736 and began printing The Maryland Gazette the following year. He published Goldworth's Useful Art, and Lewis' translation of The House Trade in 1737 and, four years later, printed the third edition of Ebenezer Cooke's The Not Dead Factor.¹⁷ William Parks' activities in Virginia were even more varied for he engaged in printing, newspaper publishing, bookselling and paper manufacturing. A press was located in Williamsburg in 1739 where six years later the Virginia Gazette was established.¹⁸ In 1743 he opened a bookstore in Williamsburg and furnished books for the students of the college. Two years later he erected a paper mill, probably the first to be operated in the English colonies south of Pennsylvania.¹⁹

The students at William and Mary College purchased books in considerable quantities. A suggestion of the character of this reading material has survived in connection with a book bill rendered by a Williamsburg merchant to Thomas Jones, uncle of William Harding, and Frederick and Thomas Jones of North Carolina, for purchases made between the period 1719 and 1721. Among the items listed were: "Feed. To one cent 4 one reason 30s. 3d ... To two good Latin Books 5s. 6d ... To a Justin 1s. 6d To a Dictionary for 7s. 11d," and many other works in Latin, Greek, and mathematics.²⁰ In the meantime Europe remained the chief source of supply for books used in

the South before the American Revolution.

A bill of exchange of £a on Sol 1 May for £5 10s. 7d. was sent from the Eastern Shore in Maryland to James Buchanan, a London merchant, in 1743 in payment for some Greek and Latin books for the school in Queen Anne's County.²¹ Mrs. Frances Madison, grandmother of James Madison, later president of the United States, consigned tobacco from Orange County, Virginia, to merchants in London during the middle period of the eighteenth century and received books and copies of the Bible and Testament in exchange.²² Robert Triangle, of Charleston, South Carolina, recorded in 1747 the receipt of money from Honga in payment to purchase Henry's Exposition of the Bible and 11s. from Mr. Miller and to be delivered to John Hewitt, a bookseller in London.²³

Colonial printing and bookselling also slowly increased after 1760. James Davis established a press in Newbern, North Carolina, and printed a copy of the laws of that colony in 1791.²⁴ Booksellers were not commonly found in North Carolina for some time, however, as John Hewitt requested the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to send Bibles and prayer books in 1761 since there were none to be purchased at Edenton, North Carolina, at that time.²⁵ Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century did bookstores appear in any number in North Carolina.²⁶ Printing was established in North Carolina in 1783 by Eleazer Phillips who also sold books.²⁷ Robert Wells located in Charleston in 1793 where he operated a printing establishment and a book-

store for many years. While the British occupied Charleston during the American Revolution, the Sells family printed a loyalist newspaper, for which activity they were forced to leave the colony after the Americans returned.²⁸ It is altogether probable that some member of this family published the loyalist pamphlet entitled General Retrospect which severely condemned Congress in 1790.²⁹ Hugh Alison, John Edwards, Edward Jones, and William Scott were also booksellers in Charleston in the decade before the Revolution.³⁰ Many of the new publications of London, together with a number of the best books by ancient and modern authors, were sold by these men.³¹

Information concerning the activities of booksellers and book purchasers in Virginia and Maryland is more detailed after 1750. Philadelphia was a source of supply for many of their printed works. The stone's Commentaries were reprinted by Robert Bell in that city and copies were sold to eighty-two subscribers in Virginia in 1771-1772. It is interesting to note that many of the subscribers who purchased more than one set were the agents or printers, showing that the books were to be offered for sale. Urcio and Dixon, printers at Williamsburg, purchased twenty-four; while Miller had, another printer of that place, purchased twelve sets. Thirty sets were purchased by John Blair, a merchant of London. Isaac Loe, a merchant of Bedford County, who later purchased the Lord Library, was also a subscriber.³² He purchased

also patronized the printers in the Pennsylvania metropolis as Mrs. Byrd, widow of William Byrd II, writing to her son William Byrd III, mentioned the fact that she had enclosed a note to a friend in a letter to a Philadelphia printer.³³

James Madison, while a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1782, wrote from Philadelphia to his father concerning the "Opportunities here of purchasing many scarce and necessary books at a fourth of the price which, if to be had at all, they will hereafter cost us."³⁴ Thomas Jefferson, one of the most consistent book buyers of the 'Old South' often patronized the Philadelphia markets. When Tufier, the French bookseller, opened a shop to dispose of the Franklin collection, Jefferson encouraged him and was one of his best customers.³⁵ European booksellers sent many volumes to Monticello. Two of these, who long enjoyed Jefferson's confidence, were John Stockdale and James Mackintosh, London book dealers of prominence. The former published the Notes on Virginia and offered it to the English book-buying public with considerable success.³⁶ Robert Clements, a Quaker merchant at Paris, was another book-buyer who patronized the Philadelphia market. In 1772 he sent money by his brother to Anthony Benzet, probably for copies of Benzet's book against the slave trade. One of these books was sent to Patrick Henry who wrote a letter of a proclation to the merchant in reply.³⁷

Some of the Virginia booksellers had large collections from which the buyer could make his selection. Nixon and Hunter, publishers of the Virginia Gazette, listed over three

hundred titles of works which could be secured at their printing office in November, 1775. Very little fiction was advertized, most of the works being on law, religion, and history. ³⁸ Book prices greatly advanced a short time after this, because of inflationary activities in connection with the American Revolution. An inventory of the estate of Robert Habb, made in 1781, appraised a dictionary at £90, Salmon's Grammar at £90, and a copy of Virginia laws at £100 Virginia currency. ³⁹ After the Revolution more fiction was demanded.

The Herald and Norfolk and Portsmouth Advertiser offered novels and plays for sale at the office of the publisher in 1799. ⁴⁰

S. Pleasants of Richmond advertised novels and romances, with many sentimental titles as Love's Pilgrimage, Love and Patriotism, and Trials of the Heart, in the Virginia Argus of August 14, 1802. The Vicar of Wakefield and Desmond were the only two ⁴¹ books listed which are read to any extent today. These two

works were also offered for sale by Peter Sabre at his store in Church Street, Norfolk, Virginia, together with other favorites of Southern readers as Don Quixote and The Temple

Foundling. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and numerous works

in Notes on Virginia, and numerous works ⁴²

books were easily secured by the planters who lived near or frequently visited the towns. Those living in more remote regions, however, were not beyond the reach of the bookseller as vendors often brought reading material directly to the purchaser.

One of the early book vendors who I learned through the

South was a Scotchman by the name of Bell. He traveled out from Philadelphia and through Virginia in 1739, carrying his books and his family in a cart. At the ordination, if the host or his wife enjoyed reading, Bell paid his way with copies of Sheridan's The School for Scandal.⁴³ The most famous and energetic of the book vendors in the South was Mason Locke Weems, the biographer of President Washington. Weems had been educated abroad and upon entering the ministry, served parishes in Maryland and Virginia. About 1794 he resigned his pastorate and became a book vendor for Matthew Carey of Philadelphia.⁴⁴ His trade prospered, as Weems wrote to his employer from Dumfries, Virginia, in 1800 asking that two thousand Bibles and one thousand Columbian Spelling Books be retained for him.⁴⁵ Weems' Life of Washington, written in 1800, was published by Carey at Philadelphia, and in time ran through nearly seventy editions.⁴⁶ The success of this work led Weems to write biographies of Benjamin Franklin, General Francis Marion, and William Penn. A large number of these biographies were sold by Weems in the South. This author-book vendor also did a thriving business selling by subscription Marshall's Life of Washington in five volumes, and Goldsmith's Works. That large number of books was carried in stock by Parson Weems was shown by a petition addressed to the Virginia Assembly in 1797 for permission to dispose of books by lottery. One thousand dollars of the profits from this lottery was to be used for building bridges in Prince William County near Weems' home, but even this avowed public benefaction failed to in-

fluence the Assembly and the proposal was rejected. seems continued as a book agent until his death in Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1825.⁴⁷ The fact that the people of the South would support such an energetic vendor as seems for over a quarter of a century indicates that they were eager to acquire reading material.

It is safe to say that books have not usually been found in such numbers among any agricultural group in America as among the planters of the Old South. Perhaps Philip Barneel was over-optimistic when he stated that he "Never knew anyone in Virginia who could not read or write. Even in the houses of those who work the land with their own hands or who engage in any of the mechanical arts, there are books, an inkstand and writing paper."⁴⁸ but the records show that many of the planters possessed books and devoted some of their time to reading and study. Learning and literary pursuits were not dominated by the clergy in the South. The planters exerted great influence in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs through their participation in government acting as vestrymen, clerics, magistrates and councillors. Many of them possessed numerous religious works and people who were literate usually owned a Bible, or a prayer book, even during the seventeenth century when reading was less common.

The prevalence of legal and political works is especially worthy of note. From the time when the titles of books were first mentioned, these books formed a conspicuous part of the collections of the Southern planters. Benton's Justice of

the Peace and Swinburne's Wills and Testaments were used in the seventeenth century, probably because of Governor Berkeley's recommendation for their purchase in 1666 for the county courts. Sir Edward Coke exerted great influence in the South as shown by the presence of his works in the libraries of many planters and the frequent citation of his writings in cases before the courts.⁴⁹ That his writings ceased to be regarded as adequate during the eighteenth century is shown by the great demand for Blackstone's Commentaries when it was offered for sale in the South just before the American Revolution.⁵⁰ Although the demand for legal and political works remained fairly uniform throughout the entire period covered in this study, there was considerable change in other reading habits.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the books belonging to the planters began to vary more in character. The chief emphasis remained upon religious works, but literature and history began to be listed more frequently in inventories. As the native writers of the South began publishing their histories during the eighteenth century, these were placed upon library shelves along with those concerning Europe and the rest of the world. Chetwode's works, Milton's Paradise Lost, The Spectator and The Tatler remained as favorites during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. After the Revolution fiction was purchased in ever-increasing quantities.

Upon students of law and government, Grotius and

Huffendorf exerted great influence during the eighteenth century. Locke's Works were also much esteemed and became even more popular during the immediate pre-revolutionary era. In the last quarter of the century the writings of the French philosophes Buffon, Montesquieu and Voltaire were prevalent in the plantation libraries.

Thus during the entire colonial and early national period books and reading increased steadily in the old South and assisted in molding the high type of leadership so conspicuous during the revolutionary struggle.

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Volume II

Appendices

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A thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Department
of History, in the Graduate College of the
State University of Iowa.

June 1933

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A LENDING LIBRARY FOR THE USE OF THE LAITY.

Consisting of a Scheme of Divinity, with suitable Books, First, for a full instruction in all things necessary to Salvation. Secondly, To restore such as have fallen into Sin and Wickedness, by promoting in them a Reformation of Manners. And, Thirdly, To recover to the Truth, and the Unity of the Church, such as have gone astray into Heresy and Schism. To be kept in the Vestry of each Parish in the Plantations; and to be Lent out, and Call'd in, except a few to be given outright, according to the Discretion of the Minister thereof.

I. For instruction in all things necessary to Salvation.

First, The Holy Scriptures themselves.

Bibles 10

Secondly, Preparative Exhortations to awaken persons Consciences, to have regard to Religion, and the Salvation of their own Souls.

Pastoral Letters from a Minister to his Parishoners: Being an earnest Exhortation to them to take care of their Souls, and preparative to render all his future Methods of Instruction more effectual to their Edification 100

Thirdly. For a general instruction in the Body of Christian Doctrine.

*Catechetical Lectures on the Covenant of Grace: Being a Body of Divinity, proper to be read in Families on the Lord's Day instead of Sermons; more especially in Planters Houses at a great distance from Church. 2

Guides to a Christian 10

Fourthly, For the more particular instruction in the Conditions of the Covenant.

1. On Justifying and Saving Faith, and the Principal Object thereof, Jesus Christ, and him Crucify'd.

*Kettlewell's Christian Believer, 8vo. 1

The Nature and Necessity of Saving Faith 10

The Surpassing Excellency of Christian Knowledge; more especially of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ in his Nature and Offices. 10

II. On Evangelical Obedience and Christian Duties, as Exercis'd both in Holy Living, and Dying.

1st. In Holy Living.

*Kettlewell's Measures of Christian Obedience. 1

*Whole Duties of Man. 2

Christian Monitors 10

Serious Exhortations to Religious Duties both publick and private. 10

Seaman's Monitors, wherein particular Advice is given with Relation to the Seaman's Behaviour.

1. Before his Voyage; 2, in it; 3, After it. 10

2dly. Holy dying.

*Dr. Sherlock upon Death 1

*Death made Comfortable. 1

A Persuasive to a Serious preparation for Death and Judgment, Containing several Considerations and Directions thereunto. 10

III. On the Nature and Necessity of Speedy Repentance.

Ellis of Consideration and speedy Repentance. 1

Asheton on Death-Bed Repentance. 10

Fifthly, For Instruction in those means of performing the Conditions of the Covenant, viz. Prayer and the Sacraments.

1st. On Prayer.

*Bishop Patrick's Discourse of Prayer. 1

Mr. L. Assigny's Divine Art of Prayer. 10

2ndly. On the Sacraments.

Discourse on the Nature, Necessity and Benefit of Sacraments, as Seals of the Covenant of Grace.

Kettlewell's Help and Exhortation to worthy Communicating.

Dorrington's Familiar Guide to the Holy Sacrament. 10

II. To Restore such as have fall'n into Sin and Wickedness by promoting in all Ages and Conditions of Men, a Reformation of Manners.

First, To Influence Magistrates, Parish-Officers and others to promote this Blessed Work.

*A. Bishop's Collection of Articles, Canons and Injunctions, and of Acts of Parliament to be Read in Churches. 1

Accounts of the Society for Reformation of Manners. 5

Short Vindications of those who give Information. 50

Secondly, To Reclaim some more Scandalous and Notorious Sinners.

<u>Earnest Exhortations to a Religious Observa-</u> <u>tions to a Religious Observation of the</u> <u>Lord's Day.</u>	50
Kind Cautions to prophane Swearers.	50
Dissuasives from the Sin of Drunkenness.	50
Rebukes to the Sin of Uncleanness.	50

III. To Recover to the Unity of the Church all such as have gone astray into Heresy and Schism.

First, In General.

St. Cyprian's Discourse of the Unity of the Church.	5
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The Faith and Practice of a Church of <u>England</u> Men	5
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Secondly, In Particular.

I. Quakers.

*Snake in the Grass	1
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*Defence of the Snake, in Answer to the Switch.	1
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Serious Calls to the Quakers to return to Christianity.	5
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Mr. Keith's Christian Catechism.	5
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II. The Papists.

*Bennet's Epitome of the Discourses against Popery.	1
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Accounts of the Cruelties done to the Protestants on Board the French Gallies, with an Exhortation to Perseverance.	5
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III. The Dissenters.

Epitome of the <u>London Cases.</u>	1
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Bishop King's Inventions of Men in the Worship of God.	2.
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Note, Those Books which have an Asterism prefix'd, being Books of a larger Volume than may be consistent with the small Leisure of the generality of People, to read them, here are but few of them, and those to be lent only to persons of better Condition; but the smaller pieces are to be serviceable to the Edification of all indifferently, and therefore there is a larger proportion of them provided.

The End of the Second Letter.

**"AN ACT FOR ... SECURING THE PUBLIC LIBRARY BELONGING
TO ST. THOMAS'S PARISH."**

XIX. And whereas at the Promotion of the Revt. Doctr. Thos. Bray a Library hath been sent over to Bath Town for the use of the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Thomas in Pampticough and it is justly Feared that the Books belonging to the same will quickly be Imbezeled, Damaged or Lost except a Law be provided for the more effectual preservation of the same.

XX. Be it Therefore Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that the said Library shall be Continued & Remain in the hands, Custody and Possession of a Library Keeper to be Elected, nominated & appointed by the Comrs. hereafter by this Act appointed or the Major part of them which said Library Keeper is and shall be hereby Bound & obliged to keep & preserve the Several and respective Books therein from Waste, Damages, Imbezilts and all other destructions (fire and all other unavoidable accidents only Excepted) and is and shall be hereby Accountable for the same and every Book thereof to the Comms. hereafter nominated. And to that end & purpose the said Library Keeper shall pass two for the Library aforesaid one to the Commissioners hereafter named and the other to the Church Wardens of the said Parish for the time being in which Receipts the Title of each Book shall be Inserted and in case all or any of the Books is or shall be found to be wasted, Damaged or Imbezeled or other wise destroyed (except as before excepted) The said Library Keeper his Heire, Exers. and Adms. are and shall be hereby bound and obliged to Answer double the value for the same And the said Commissioners are hereby Impowered to sue for the same, in any Court of Record in this Province by Bill, Plaint, or Information or other Action wherein no Essoign, Protection, Injunction, or Wager of Law shall be allowed. And what thereby shall be Recovered (reasonable charges and Expenses deducted) to imploy & dispose towards the Compleating and perfecting the aforesaid Library so wasted, Andamaged, Imbezeled or other wise destroyed within the space of Twelve Months after such Recovery.

XXI. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that in case of death or removal of said Library keeper the respective Church Wardens of Beaufort Precinct shall Immediately take into their hands, Custody & Possession & safe keeping all the Books belonging to the said Library and shall be answerable for the same to the Comms. hereinafter nominated.

XXII. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that the Church Wardens of Beaufort Precinct upon the Receiving of the said Library into their Custody shall compare the

same with the Catalogue and Receipt for the same in their Custody and if any of the books are Wanting or damaged they shall give an account thereof in Twenty days at Furthest to the Commissioners hereafter mentioned who are Impowered to sue the said Library Keeper or in case of his Death his Exors., or Adminr. for the same as afores'd And in Case the said Church Wardens refuse or neglect to give such account then the said Church Wardens, their Heirs, Exors., or Adminrs., and every of them are hereby made Accountable to the Commrs., hereafter named for all the Books belonging to the said Library and Contained in the Catalogue thereof.

XXIII. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that the said Commrs. or any Five of them within Twenty days after such Notice given shall forthwith proceed to the Election of another Library Keeper to whose Custody and safe keeping the said Library and every Book therein Contained shall be forthwith delivered by the said Church Wardens by order of the said Commrs. which said Library Keeper so Elected shall continue in the same Office unless removed by the said Commrs., or the Major part of them (Which they are upon a Just Occasion hereby Impowered to do) or untill the Settlement of a Minister in the said Parish which said Minister or Incumbent shall (exofficio) be Library Keeper and shall be Answerable for the same to the Commrs. afores'd in manner as is by this Act directed. Provided always that the said Library shall not be removed out of Bath Town other than to the Incumbents House and not thither without Liberty first had & Obtained from the said Commissioners or the Major part of them.

XXIV. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that the Inhabitants of Beaufort precinct shall have liberty to Borrow any Book out of the said Library giving a Receipt for the same to the Library Keeper for time being with a promise to return the said Book or Books; if a Folio in Four Months time, if a Quarto, in two months time, if an Octavo or under in a month's time upon the Penalty of paying three times the full value of the said Book or Books so borrowed in case of failure in returning the same And the said Library keeper is hereby obliged to enter such Receipt in a book to be fairly kept for that purpose and upon the return of any Book or Books so lent shall note it returned on the opposite side or Collum of the said book and not cross & blot the same. And in case the person that Borrows any Books out of the said Library doth refuse to return the same or doth Damnify the said Book, upon Complaint thereof Given by the said Library keeper, his Exectrs, or Adminrs., to two or more of the Commissioners and by them or any five of them to the Chief Justice of this Province for the time being or any two Justices of the Peace it shall be Lawfull & the said Chief Justice or any two Justices are hereby Impowered and Required by Warrant of Distress directed to any of the Constables of

the said Precinct to levy three times the Value of such Book or Books on the Goods & Chattels of the person so refusing to deliver or damnifying the same and for want of such distress to Commit the person to prison till satisfaction be made by the said Library keeper.

XXV. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that the Commrs. hereafter named shall make or caused to be made Several catalogues of all and Singular the Books in the said Library and the same being fairly Written & Signed by the said Commrs., or some five of them, One to be Entered upon Record in the Secretary's Office of this Province, one to be in the Custody and for the use of the Commrs., hereafter named under which the Library keeper shall sign a Receipt for the Respective Books, one to be in the Custody of the Church Wardens of Beaufort Precinct for the time being under which the Library keeper shall also sign a Receipt for the Respective Books and one to be fairly entered in a Book for that purpose to be kept by the Library keeper in the said Library that so any person may know what Books are contained therein.

XXVI. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that the Commrs. or any five of them hereafter named after making the Exact Catalogue of all and Singular the Respective Books in the said Library shall and are hereby Impowered to appraise and rate each Book at a price certain in the Current money of this Province which Appraisement shall be an Established Rule to determine the value of the said Books in Case any suit is brought by the said Commrs. against any person that shall detain or damnify any of the said Books or against the Library keeper his Exeors. or Adminrs.

XXVII. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that the Commrs. hereafter named or any five of them shall every year on the Easter Monday yearly resort to the house where the said Library shall be kept and there Examine the Books thereof by the Catalogue & see that there be the full number & that they are not damnified or Spoyled. And therefore the Library keeper is hereby required in lending any of the said Books out of the said Library notwithstanding the time usually allowed by this Act to oblige the said persons to return such Books as they Borrow to the said Library keeper ten days before the said Easter Monday yearly That so all & Singular the Books belonging to the Library afores'd may be exposed to the View of the said Commrs. The Better to enable them to judge if they be any wayes damaged or Spoyled and give their Order accordingly.

XXVIII. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that the Hon. Chas. Eden, Esqr., present Governor and the Governor and Commander in Chief for the time being, The members of the Council for the time being, Christopher Gale,

Esqr., Chief Justice and the Chief Justice for the time being, Tobias Knight, Esqr., Secretary for the time being, Col. Edwd. Moseley, Speaker of this present Assembly and the Speaker for the time being, Daniel Richardson, Esqr., Attorney Genl. for the time being, the Members of the Precinct Court for the time being Capt. Fred Jones, Mr. John Porter, Mr. Joel Martin, Capt. John Drinkwater, Mr. John Clark, Mr. Patrick Maule, Mr. Thos. Worsley, Mr. Lionel Reading, Mr. James Lee, Mr. Thos. Harding, or any five of them, are hereby Nominated to be Commrs. and Trustees for the due Inspection and Preservation of the Library aforesaid and all and Singular the Respective Books to the same belonging and they or any five of them shall have power to commerce or bring any Suit or Action Given by this Act.

And in Case of Death or Absence of any of the Commisrs. who are by this Act particularly Appointed then the Surviving Commisrs. or any five of them at their next Meeting after such Vacancy are hereby fully Authorized and Impowered to make choice of another in the place and stead of him or them who shall be dead or Absented which said Commisrs. so Elected shall be Invested with the same Authority as if he had been before in this Act particularly named and appointed.

XXIX. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that the Commis. above named or any five of them after having examined the Respective Books belonging to the Library afores'd if they find any Books wanting shall Summons such persons as have the said Books in their Custody to deliver the same within Twenty days after such Notice in Writing Left with the persons or at his usual place of Abode and in case any person shall faile or Refuse to deliver the said Respective Books to the said Commisrs. then the said Commisrs., or any Five of them are hereby required, directed & Impowered to take such Measures for the Recovery of the same or Treble the Value thereof as is before by this Act prescribed.

LXX. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that all persons that have Borrowed or have in the Custody any of the Books belonging to the Library aforesaid shall on or before the next Easter Monday return the Same to the present Library keeper upon Penalty of the Forfeiture of Treble the Value of each Book not returned as aforesaid the better to Enable the Commisrs. before named to make a perfect Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Library.

LXXI. And Be It Further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that for the Further Encouragement of this Town of Bath and all other Towns now or hereafter Built within this Government it shall and may be Lawful for the Freeholders of the said Town of Bath and of all other Towns now or hereafter Built or to be Built within this Government at all

times hereafter when Representatives or Burgesses are to be chosen for the Precinct wherein the Town Lyes to Elect one Burgess to represent the same in all succeeding Assemblys. Provided that this Election for Members of Assembly to serve for the Town of Bath or any other Town Whatsoever shall not begin nor commence till such Town shall have at Least Sixty Families.

XXXII. Provided also that nothing in this Act shall be held or taken to limit or hinder the Inhabitants of New Berne from sending a Representative to the Assembly, such Representative being hereby Allowed altho' there should not be Sixty families Inhabiting in the said Town.

EDW'D MOSELEY,
Speaker.

CHAS. EDEEN,
N. CHEVIN,
C. GALE,
FRAN. FOSTER,
T. KNIGHT.

AN ACT CONCERNING THE CHARLESTON PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Rector of the Parish of St. Philip's, in Charlestown aforesaid, and his successors, Rectors of the said Parish, shall be incorporate, and shall have capacity and succession, by the name of the Rector of the Parish Church of St. Philip's in Charlestown, and shall be hereby enabled to sue and be sued by that name, in all courts and places in this Province, and shall have the care of the souls of the inhabitants within the said Parish, and have and enjoy to him and his successors for ever one message or tenement for his habitation, excepting the roome reserved for the Provincial Library, to-gether with all the out-houses belonging to the same, to-gether with all the land and the improvements there upon, and the negroes and their increase, and the cattle and their increase; the which tenement and out-houses was built, and the land, negroes, and cattle purchased or given for the use of the minister of the said St. Philip's in Charlestown, and his successors, pursuant to the above recited Act of Assembly, entituled an Act to Settle a Maintenance on a Minister of the Church of England in Charlestown; and also such other revenues as is given to the Minister of Charlestown and his successors by the said Act, to-gether with all fees and perquisites arising within the said parish, that are of right due to the rector or minister thereof by the laws and customs of this Province.

...

Read three times and ratified in open Assembly the fourth day of November, 1704.

A CATALOGUE OF THE BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY
AT WESTOVER BELONGING TO
WILLIAM BYRD ESQR.

HISTORY, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.

Case No. 1. Lower Shelf, folio. Mexias Emperors, Mathews History of New England, Burnets History of ye Reformation--2 vols., Bradys Introduction, [do.] History of England, Bakers Chronicle, Bloomes Britannia, Histoire des Juifs par Joseph, Lloydii Dictionarium, Hacket's Life of Arch Bishop Williams, Burchetts Naval History, Bohuns' Geographical Dictionary, Bailii Opera Historica, Br. Browns Travels, Harrington's Oceana, The Dial of Princes.

Second Shelf, folio. Camdens Britannia, Clarendons History of ye Rebellion--3 vols., History of England--3 vols., Dewess Journal, Dugdales Baronage--2 vols., Memoirs of Castleman, Vesserii Annales, Heylius' Cosmography, Sammes Britannia, Stanleys Lives, Theatrum Terra Sancta, Dugdales History of St. Pauls, Chauneys Antiquities of Hertfordshire.

Third Shelf, octavo. Davenant on Trade, [do.] on the Revenues--2 vols., [do.] on Grants, Ludlows Memoirs--3 vols., State of Poland, Description of the Isle of Orkney, State of Moscovy, English Worthies, Dion Cassius--2 vols., History of the Times, Welwoods Memoirs, Account of Denmark, Vindication of Darien, Neals History of New England--2 vols., History of Venice, Wafers Voyages, Temple's Memoirs, History of Whitehall--2 vols., Rye Conspiracy, Evelyn on Navigation, Temple's Introduction, Miltons History of England, Temple's Miscellanea--3 vols.--2nd wanting, Connors History of Poland--2 vols.--1st wanting.

Fourth Shelf, octavo. Journey to Paris, Dampiers Voyages--3 vols., Haikes [do.], Miscellanea Antica, Burridgii Historia, Nicholson's Historical Library--3 vols., Philip's Life of Arch Bishop Williams, Drakes Historia Anglo-Scotiae, Description of Formosa, History of the Buccaneers, [do.] of Portugal, Fryers Voyages, Narborough's [do.], LeComptes China, Temple's Letters--2 vols., Dutch East India---, Ray's Travels, Durehetts Memoirs, Ogilby's Roads, Geographia Classica.

Fifth Shelf, folio. Collection of Voyages & Travels--6 vols., Chronologia Funicii, Grimestones History of Spain, Forbosii Instructis Historicis Theologica, Purchas Pilgrimage, Rycants Commentaries of Peru, Camm de Rebus Turcici's, Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores, History of Guiceland, Davila's History of France.

Case No. 2, Lowest Shelf, folio. L Van Aietzenia von volg der Historien--2 vols., [do.] Historien--7 vols., Antiquitates Christianae, Iconologie par Baudoin, Wilkin's real Characters, Burnetts Theory of the Earth.

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Third Shelf, octavo. Cockburns Travels, Critical History of England, Medulla Historia Anglicanae, Messons Voyages--4 vols., Trade in India, Description of Guinea, Woolseys Memoirs, State of Russia, Ditto--3 vols., Bachards History of the Revolution, Walkers Expedition to Canada, History of Virginia, Ward's History of the Reformation, Legreats Voyages, Picture of a favorite, Survey of Trade, State of Virginia, Journey to Jerusalem, Cookes Voyages--2 vols., Hispania Illustrata, Voyage to Abyssinia, State of the Cape of Good Hope--2 vols., History of Persia, Travels of the jesuits, Salmon's Chronological Historian.

Fourth Shelf, octavo. Potters Antiquities of Greece--2 vols., Kennets Lives of the Greek Poets, [do.] Antiquities of Rome, History of England--2 vols.--2nd wanting, Supplement to Clarendon, Woodward's History, Voyage to Cartesius's World, Raii Clavis Philosophica, [do.] Synopsis, British Empire in America--2 vols., Sales's Voyages, Steven's History of Spain, Hennepins Travels, Trogei's Voyages, Temples Introduction, Accounts of Livonia, [do.] of Poland, Discoveries in South America, Magaillans China, History of Wales, Gage's Survey of the West Indies, Epitome of Josephus, Vertots Revolution of Sweden, New State of England--1703, Life of William the third, Strangers Account of Switzerland, Wallaces Account of the Isles of Orkeny, Account of Macasar, La Fontans Voyages--2 vols.

Fifth Shelf, folio. History of England--3 vols., Burnetts History of the Reformation--2 vols., Ludol Historia Aethiopica, Nelsons Collection--2 vols., Rushworths [do.] --7 vols.

Second & Third Shelves, quarto. Acta Eruditorum--Anno 1682 ad 1722--40 vols., [do.] Supplementum, [do.] Index--2 Tom., State of the Protestants, Voyage de Moscovie, Demoire de Chanai, New York Conspiracy.

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sive--8 vols., [do.] 6-7-8; 3 vols., [do.] 1669 to 1685 inclusive--8 vols.

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The Uppermost Shelf of this Case. Universal History--20 vols. 8vo.

Fourth Case, Upper Part, Lowest Shelf, octavo. State of Germany, Roman History--4 vols. 1st wanting, Salts Breviarium Chronologicum, Memoirs of Philip de Comines--2 vols. Ditto--one volume, Boyse's Historical Review, Funnels Voyages, Rycants History of Turkey, Lassels Voyage to Italy, Voyage to North America, History of Portuguese Asia--2 vols., Salmons Polygraphia, Goadart de Insectis, Essay on Fire & Salt, Reflections on Learning, Woodward's Essays, Whistons Account of a remarkable Meteor, Howells Letters, Memoirs of Cardinal Woolsey, Political Arithmetick, Webster on Metals, Voyage to St. Kilda, Cluverii Geographia, [do.] Epitome Historiae, Segritidi State de i principi d'ell Europa, State of the United Provinces, Stoical Philosophy, Art of Memory, Bachards Compendium of Geography, History of Martha Taylor, State of Italy, Account of New England, Hornii Historica Ecclesiastica, Voyages to the Canary Islands.

Third Shelf &c. octavo. Le Grand Miroir du Monde, Answer rejoined, Academie of Armorie, Remains of Britain,

Lancashire Plot, Horrid Conspiracy, Essay on Ways and Means, State Poems, Rolt's History of the late war, History of Buccaneers, Geography [for] Children, Roman History--2 copies, Chamberlaynes present State, Art of Wheedling, Life of Des Cartes.

LAW, TRYALS &C.

Fourth Case, under Part Lowest Shelf, folio. Cokes First 2nd 3rd & 4th Institute, [do.] on Littleton, Bridgman's Conveyancing, Moores Reports, Leonards [do.], Keilways [do.], Littletons [do.], Saunders [do.], Rolles [do.], Palmers [do.], Rushworths Tryal of Steafford, Tryal of Arch-Bishop Laud, Blounts Law Dictionary, Bishops Tryals.

Second Shelf, folio. Ashes Tables--2 vols., Aeta Gulielmi 7mo. 8vo. et 9mo., [do.] 9mo. et 10mo., Andersons Reports, Bridgman's [do.], Cokes [do.] Parts 1 to 12--4 vols., Dyers [do.], Crooks [do.]--3 vols., Brookes Abridgment, Sheppard's Epitome, Finch on the Law, Laws of Virginia.

Third Shelf, octavo. Journal of the House of Commons, Atterbury's Rights of an English Convocation, De Privilegiis Pacis, Style's Practical Register, Bates Elenchas Motuum in Anglia, Tryals per pair, Fenwicks Tryal, Barron & Femme, Reports in Chancery, Modern Conveyances, Stanfords Pleas of the Crown, Plaidoyers de Monar Patru, Kitchin of Courts, Herald's de rebus Judicatis, Propugnaculum Catholicum, Instructor Clericalis, Greenwood of Courts, Brown of Fines, Summa Juris Canonici, Cromptons Jurisdiction of Courts, Blounts Tenures, Fitz Herbert's Natura Brevium, Wingates Abridgment, Browns Modus intrandi, Hale's Pleas of the Crown, Clerk of Assize, Faithful Register, Washington's Abridgment, Government of the Plantations.

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Third Shelf, quarto. Fitzherberts Abridgment, Corpus Juris Civilis--2 vols., Haranques, Lex Parliamentaria,

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Soebell's [Remembrancer ?], La Droite Romaine, Praxis
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 thoritate Romanorum, Kilburns Precedents, Bassetts Cata-
 logue, Finch's Law, Neville on Government, Fortescaris [?]
 Laws of England, Wingates Briton, Cokes Copyhold, Doctor
 and Student, Office of Executions, Cowels Institutes,
 Mereton on Wills, Gray's Reports, Perkins Laws of England,
 Magna Charta, Jenkins Works, Glanville de Legibus Angliae,
 Phillips Directions, March's actions of Slanders, Mirror
 of Justice, Brook's Reading, Dalthasii Decalogia, Accursii
 Institutiones, Swinburn on Wills, Decretales Gregorii, Cor-
 pus Juris Canonica, Braeton de Legibus, Godolphins Abridg-
 ment, Orphans Legacy, Seldeni Fleeta, Vinii Commentarii,
 Hughes' Abridgment--3 vols.

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 Ireland, Answer to Molyneux, Areana Clericalia, Natura
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 Debates of Abdication, Guide to Surveyors, Navales Media
 Historia.

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 Layers Tryals of the Whole Plot of 1722, Jones's Reports,
 Dugdale Origines, Dyers Reports, Lambard de Legibus priscis
 Anglorum, Registrum Breviarum, Townsends Collection, Pophams
 Reports, Officiaria Brevium, Siderfin's Reports, Spencerus de
 Legibus, Seldens Janus.

Case No. 6, Lowest Shelf, folio. Coke upon Littleton,
 Pultons Collection, Virginia Laws Manuscript, Cabala of
 State, Puffendorf's Law of Nature, Waterhouse's Fortescous,
 Tryals since 1682, [do.] 1696, Collection of Tryals &c,
 Ditto, Ditto, Meal Tub Plot, Narrative &c, Dawsons Origo
 Legum, Earl Danby's Case, Informations &c, Oates Tryal &c,
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Oglebees American in folio, Daltons Country Justice, Doct^r Willis practice of Physick, Doct^r Andros sermons folio, the history of Great Britain, the Book of homileys, Burnets first part of Reformation, the History of y^e World in folio, Doct^r Burnets thear. of y^e earth, the reports of s^r Edw^d Cook, D^r ffestley's Book, the gen^l History of Spaine folio, Hyllings (Heylin's) Cosmography, the ffamous Doct^r Usher Body of Divinity, Doct^r Halls treatis in folio, ffifty Comedys & tragedies in folio, a Dictionary, Doct^r Andros 96 Sermons in volio, 1 Lattin book for the sacram^t in fol, Hookers Eclesastis (Ecclesiastical) polity, the second part of Pooles annotacons on y^e Bible,² Phillips world of words in Latin, the 8th book of the Peloponesian warr, Neman the assirian, the History of Phillip Decoming, a reply to the Jesuits, St Thoma, the History of y^e world or an accot of time, the holy State, enquiry into Humane nature the princis Cloria, the new world of words, a Lattin Dictionary, the History of George Castriat, the history of Scotland, Sr Francis Bacon's naturall history, the Spanish and English Dictionary, Rusha (Rushworth's) collection y^e 2d volum & second part, Aphorisms Civil & Military, the patterne of Catechistical Doctrine, two books of Shepard's abridgment, Key of the Bible, the life and Reigne of King Charles, Rusha Collections y^e 2d part, of the Laws of Ecclesiastical policy, the merchants mapp of comerce, Burton mellancholly, the History of the Island of Barbados, the Displaying of Supposed witchcraft, the reports of s^r Edw^d Cook, Experimental natural philosophy, the state of the Ottamy Empire, Doct^r Browns book of Physick, Doct. ffullers holy state, the life of Gasmon, the Gen^l History of ffrance, naturall magick, ffuler's Wortheys, Works of John Boyse, a treatise of Justification, Josephus, a geographically Dictionary, a Geographical Description of the four parts of y^e World, the works of s^r Wm Davenant, Doct^r taylor's course of sermons, the Works of John Boyse, Lex Marketoria, a Collection of Travells, y^e history of y^e Low Countries, Ambros Perry (Pare? a celebrated French surgeon), Camdan's Britannia, Bishop Babington's Works, the History of the civil warrs of ffrance, the Common prayer book, the practice of y^e Law, the third part of the Institutes of y^e Lawe of England, a prospect of y^e most famous parts of the world, an old Latin Book, thorowgood's travells, a chirurgicall old Book, an Ambersee from y^e East India Comp^a to y^e Grand Tartar, the Dutch annotacons on y^e holy Bible, the Secund part of Burnets Reformation, the Civill warrs of Caesar and Pompey, the Sea Beacon, a new survey of the West Indies, a Description of the Body of man, the first part of Cocks Institutes, a Collection of the Laws of Virginia, Contemplacons upon the New Testament, a Concordance of y^e Bible, Resolves, a ffrench & English Dictionary, the office & authority

of sheriffs, the Chyrurgans Mate, the Morning Exercises, an old Law book, an apology of Christian Divinity, a book of homileys, jurisdiction of Lawfull authority, the Impartiall history of Ireland, the office of justice of the peace, Experiments in Consort (?), Culpeper Dispensary, an Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical Laws, Pancreatick Juice, the Earle of Staffords tryall, a treatise of the gout, the mistery of the Jesuitts a Dixionary, the History of the church, the citys and towns of England, the Body of Cookery, Doct^r Taylour's holy living and Dying, Divine knowledge, the new naturall faculties of man, the way to health long life and happiness, the mirror of justice, the compleat Gentleman, the Rudiments of Latin & Greeke, two treatises of Governm^t, Sermons of Divinity, an English Dixionary, Clerks guide, Orations, the foundacons of monarchy, Gramer, theaters of Gods judgm^{ts}, the English Dixionary, an other Dixionary, the whole Duty of Man, the English primrose, Wallers Poems, Howells Letters, Historians guide, Sober Inspec-tions, choice pieces of Antiquity, Byfield upon Physick, Herberts Divine Poems, the reasonableness of Christianity, Davids Repent-ance, Reversions by Culpeper, Gallons (Galen's) art of Physick, Ovid's Tragedy, a small Latin Book, the unlearned Keymiss (Chemist), Culpepers Last Legacy.

In Esq^r Wormeley's closet Books Inventoried not valued:

Glabers (Glauber's) Kimistry, the State of United Provinces, the Colledges of Oxford, Kings of England, Every Man (in) his humor, Ecclesiastical History in Latin, a View of all Religions in the World, the Articles of Visitation Enquiry, the Laws of Virginia, the present State of England, an old Latin Physick Book, the wife of Donalimpa, an Introduction to Geography, the Laws of Virginia, a Lattin Bible, an old Law Book, statutes at Large, Church Bible, a Latin Book, the Royall Gravier, S^r Walter Raleigh, the History of the West Indies, Skill of Music, the Gen^l History of ffrence, Winchest^r Schoole, the Laws of Virg^a, Swinborns Wills and testaments, Sands travells, a Description of the Persian Monazohy, a Conspiracy against Charles the Second, Plutoche Lives in foure parts, the remains of a greater work, the faith and Doctrine of England, Christian Directory, the Rustick Sallarom, two books called Doctrinne of Triangles, ffrench Gramer, the Essays of Council civill and morall the poems of Wm Cartwright, the rule for granting passes, Ovids Destrictamas (Des Tristiens), Interest Mistaken, A Sacred Dialogue in Lattin, Remains of S^r Walter Rawleigh, Book of Lamentacons, Mariners compass, the present state of England, the English Secretary, the marriners news callender, Englands Beauty, an easy Compendium ffrench gramer, Christian Policy, Meneimistica, a small French book, a treatis of English particles, Hudybas the third and last part, no cross no crowne, a Dialogue of ffrench English & Latin, a treatis of afflictions, a Phililologicall comentory, Ovids Metamorphosis in Latin, a mathe-maticall book, the Emperon & Emplor by trade, the office of the blessed Virgin Mary, the younge clerks guide, an easy entrance to y^e Latin tongue, Poems & Ellogies, a Gramer, the old world of

words, of Athiesm (Atheism), a cronichel of the Intestin warr, A Pathway to knowledge, The negroes and Indians Advocate, Christ and y^e Church, English horseman, a book of Rates, Reflections upon the maxims of Solomon, Ganteel Siner, Virginia Law Book, the English Secretary, the Universall Body of Physick, the Laws of New England, the Defence of Constantine, totall Discourse, the works of John Vigoe, Dr Haymans practical Catechism, Quarles Divine Poems, Doct^r of tryangles, London Dispensitory, six new plays, the history of St. George, Norwoods Epitomy, Cabinet of Council, State of ffrance, the unjust mans doom, a small Latin Book, the art of making wine & Brandy, magna Britania, the English Physitian, the Elements of the Comen Law, a manuell of millions, the History of tithes, the country ffrarms, a Looking Glass for the times, an Abridgm^t for the Christian Doctrine, an old book of frates, Garden of Parradise, Latin Bible, a Catacasticall Discourse, country ffrarms, a Manuell of Millions, an Entertainm^t for Lent, Remarks for the Gallants, Geographicall parts of the world in Latin, help to y^e English history, Pethagaleas (Pythagoras?) Philosophy, a Dixionary, a Lattin book, the life of St. Augustin, Comentaril, the office of Justice of the peace, Scorbutus Morbo Libo, Eucheridion Practicum, Religione discce, Miacheife or self Ignorance, Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, Nero trigidia (?) Resolves, Jure maritimo Virgilla Elloges, the ffrrench Gardiner, Rome Exactly Described (Festivals?), Essays and Parradoxes, Cordelius, Restitution of the Greek Gramer, Senecas Moralls, a practical catechisme, Horace, collections of Statutes, choice presidents, a Dixionary of Latin & Greek, Cesiros prince, Johannes Amos Camen, consideracons of natural philosophy, Doct^r Burnetts letters, a present for papists, tryumph of Rome, Doct^r Colebath, England tryumphs, Aditus, the art of Brewing, Virgell, Ostend to be taken by treachery, Gulieni Amesii, the Learned Man, Q. Curtij Rufi Historiae, Seneca Moralls, the genuien use & effects of a Gun, treatis of y^e Interests of y^e prince and y^e state of Christendom, Historicall Collections, familiara colloquia, Emanuell of millions, the life & Reigne of King Richard, the the works of the great monarch, Hornerastisimo, Terentius, Englands Treasure in trade, Manaductia, some letters containing whats remarkable in Italy, first book of the Discovery of a new world, a ffrrench book.

The third and last part of Hudibras, A Book of benefitting, courtio^r of coubaldy (?) Godly and fruitfull sermons, sure guide to the french tongue, a Physick book, third book of Cicero, new Dixionary, Moses and Aaron, Principals of the gramar, vindication, new Covenant, Laws of Virg^a, Lutrox (Plutarchs) Lives, the new art of Lying, History of Don Quixote, Church Bible, John Donne, Esops fables, Questions concerning the Soule, Colon, Remaines of y^e Reverend Jno. Hailes, the comeing man's incarnation, Riders Dixonary, a Book concerning princes, an old Book of geography, Michael Lord Mountague in french, an old Book of Latin and English sermons, Rich. Baxter's confession of his faith, pious annotacons upon y^e holy Bible, a Book dedicated

to y^e nobility offfrance, Lanelis Chaemiri, Satire upon the Jesuitts, treatise of two Sacraments, Magistricall estut ogicall deviner, History of y^e Reigne of Henry. 7th, Geographicall history of Africa, Historia Mundi, a designe of Christianity, an English Exposition, a Discourse touching the Spanish Monarch, Le flores, Copias Dixionary in three parts, God's plea for Nineveh, Gentl History of Verg^a New England & y^e Sumer Islands, Gower de, books of televisus, Matalisco mitis mytholo, want of Charity justly charged, Lectures on the 15th Psalme, ffriendly Conference between minister & parishioner, priviledges of the Barronage of England, weekes preparacon towards receiving the Lords supper, eighteen ffrench books.

BOOKS OF EDWARD MOSELEY DONATED TO THE
PROVINCIAL LIBRARY AT ELENTON, NORTH CAROLINA, 1723.

Folios.

- Pool, Matthew. Synopsis Criticorum. 5 volumes.
Augustinus, S. Opera. Col. Agrip. 1616. 10 volumes.
Sanchez (or Sanctius), Casper. In quartuor libros Regum. Lugd., 1623.
_____ In Jeremiam. Lugd., 1618.
_____ In Ezechielem. Lugd., 1619.
Polanus, Amicus? Syntagma theologiae Christianae. Hanoviae, 1615?
Leigh, Edward. Body of Divinity, in 10 books. 1654 or 1662.
Eodatus, Giovanni. Annotations on the Holy Bible. Lond., 1648.
Eusebius, Socrates, Evagrius; Ecclesiastical Histories of Camb., 1683 or 1692
Simson, Patrick. History of the Church. Third edition, London, 1634?
Cartwright, Thomas. Harmonia Evangelica. About 1630.
Notationes in totam Scripturam Sacram.
Fuller, Thos.? Church History of Britain. Lond., 1655.

26 folio volumes

Quartos.

- Bilson, Bp. Thomas. True difference between Christian Subjection and unchristian rebellion. Oxon., 1585.
Ball, John. Answer to two treatises of Mr. John Carr, the first *** Necessity of seperation sic from the Church of England. *** the other, a stay against straying; *** unlawfulness of hearing the ministers of the Church of England. Lond., 1642.
Birkbeck, Simon. Protestant's Evidence. Lond., 1634.
Rainolds, John. De Romanae Ecclesiae Idolatria. Oxon., 1596.
Pierce, Thomas. The Sinner impleaded in his own Court. Lond., 1679.
Heinsius, Daniel. Exercitationes sacrae ad Novum Testamentum. Lugd. Bat., 1639; Camb., 1640.
Cartwright, Thomas. Comme Ntarii in Proverbia Solomonis. Amat., 1638.
Usher, Achbp. James. Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates. Dubl. 1639.
_____ Answer to a challenge made by a Jesuite. Dublin.
Buridan, John. Quaestiones super viii libros Politicarum Aristotelis, Oxon., 1640.
Prideaux, John. Fasciculus controversiarum Theologicarum. Oxon., 1652.
Ball, John. Friendly Trial of the grounds tending to Separation sic . Camb., 1640.

12 quarto volumes

Octavos.

Francisco Le Rees. Cursus Philosophicus, 2 p.
 Tertia Pars Sum. Philos & quarta.
 Piccolominaeus. Universa Philos. de Moribus.
 Davidis Parei Exercitationes Philosophicae.
 Buxtorf's Lexicon.
 Dialogue in answer to a Popish Catechism.
 Augustinus (S.) De Civitate Dei, 2 vols.
 Greek Grammar.
 Hunnius; De Scripto Dei Verbo, &c.
 Comment. in Evang. secundum S. Matt.
 Eustachii a Sancto Paulo Summa Philosophiae quadripartita.
 Scheibleri Liber Comment. Topicorum.
 Schiehard's Horologium Hebraicum.
 Melanthonis Chronicon Carionis.
 Calvin's Institutiones Christianae Religionis.
 Davidis Parei Corpus Doctrinae Christianae.
 Aristotelis Organon.
 Heckerman's Systema S. S. Theologica.
 Systema Logica.
 Leusden's Clavis Graeca Novi Testamenti.
 Baronii Metaphysica Generalis.
 Douner's Comment. in Jet. Rami Dialect ? .
 Joh. Regii Commentarii ac Disputationes Logicae.
 Sallii Ethica.
 Buxtorf's Epitome Grammaticae Hebraeae.
 Heysselbeins Theoria Logica.
 Amesius de Divina Predestinatione.
 Baronis. Annales Ecclesiasticae.
 Hugo Grotius. Defensio Fidei Catholicae.
 Augustini (S) Confessiones.
 Amesii Medulla Theologica.
 Rescriptio Scholastica ad Grevinchovium de Redemptione
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 Hebrew Psalter.

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- 7 Do. first part Old. - Lent Mr. Burwell, James.
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- 12 Herne's Pleader.
- 13 Thesaurus Brevium 1
- 14 Chancer's Works - Lent to Dr. Cock.
- 15 Cowley's Works - ["Lent to Mr. Goodwyn," erased]
- 16 York Heraldry - ["Lent to Dr. Cocke," erased] stet ut ante.
- 17 An Old Comon Prayer Book (new bound).
- 18 History of Venice by Howell. - Lent Mrs. Ferguson.

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- 19-20 2 Dictionarys.
- 21 Godolphin's Orphan's Legacy.
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- 27 Accedence of Armory.
- 28 A Turkey Leather Bible Old.

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- 47 Law Terms - ill bound.
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- 49 Do. My Lord Cokes.
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- 56 Lord Chief Justice Hale's Life. J.B.
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- 64 Riddle's View of the Civil Law. O.L.J.
- 65 Sheppard of Slander.
- 66 Ariana Clericales. J.T.
- 67 Historical Collections out of Protestant Historians. J.S.
- 68 Young Clerk's Tutor.
- 69 Humane Prudence.
- 70 Exact Constable.
- 71 Instructor Clericalis.
- 72 Law Terms. Old Edit.
73. Parkins Law French English'd. J.T.
- 74 Wentworth & Manly's Office of Exec'rs.
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- 91 English Liberty. J.T.
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- 93 Hudibras - (opt. Edit.)
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- 95 Virgil in English - Lent Mr. R. Armistead.
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- 97 Justin. In 12 mo.
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- 107 My Lord Bacon's Essays - Lent to Do
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- 109 Gentleman's Calling - Lent to Do.
- 110 Waller's Poems. - Lent Orlando Jones.
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- 112 Dr. Sherlock on Death. - Lent Major Burwell's Lady.
- 113 Latin Testament - in 12 mo.
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- 115 The Chirurgions Vade Mecum - ["Lent David Wilkinson, M.D.,"
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The names or initials following titles show when books had been lent.

THE LIBRARY OF ROBERT BEVERLEY, 1734.

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 Lock's Works, 3 vols.
 Temple's Works, 2 vols.
 Statutes at Large, 3 vols.
 Harris's Lexicon testin., 2 vols.
 Kennett's Hist. England, 3 vols.
 Burnett's Hist. of his own times,
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 Puffendorss' Law of Nature and
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 Whitlock's Memorials.
 Hookers Eccles. Polity.
 Prideau's Connect, 2 vols.
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 Chillingworth's Works.
 Wells Maps.
 Pearson on the Creed.
 Evelyns Sylva.
 Boys' Exposition.
 The Natural hist. of animals.
 2 Commonplace books begun by
 Mr. Beverley. Quarto.
 Littletons Dictionary.
 Robinson's Lixicon.
 Crochanthorpe Logic; Lat.
 Coles Lat. Dictionary.
 Cotton's Works.
 Beveridges's Private Thoughts.
 Stanhopes Xtian pattern.
 Boyers Dictionary.
 Virgilinus Delph:
 Pussendorss introd. to hist.
 of Europe.
 Tulley's offices Cum: Not: Vari.
 Coles Dictionary.
 Senecas Moralls.
 Chaynes philos. principles.
 Falconers Voyages.
 Wells Geography.
 Grotius of War & Peace, 2 vols.
 Dawson's Lexicon.
 Wilkin's Natural religion.
 Gordon's Geography.
 Shaftsbury's Charact. 3 vol.
 Bacons Essays.
 Mattgers French Gramer.
 Morden's Introd. to astron. &c.
 Homer's Greek & Lat.
 Cicero de oratore.
 Wards Algebra.
 Marhams Works.
 An old Bible of ye old eddition.
 Mox on the Globes.
 Mayer's Eccles: Interprets.
 Lukenor's Cemon of Venice.
 Bacon's Essays.
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 Manly's Novels.
 Life of a private Gent.
 Clark on the Trinity, 12^o.
 Plutarch's Moralls, 5 vols.
 A bri. Virg's Laws.
 Biblia Sacra.
 Clark's Grotius.
 De Charles Euclid in Eng'h.
 Greek Testament.
 Officium Homineis.
 Spectat's, 8 vols., Tatlers,
 4 vols.
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 Milton's Paradise Lost.
 Garths Dispensatory.
 Cockmans Tullys offices.
 Echards Gazetteer.
 popes homer, 6 vol.
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 Dialogor Sac.
 Illust: postar: & flores.
 Ovid, Metamorph.

Erasmus Colles:
 Christian Birthrights.
 Theophrastus on the mares of
 the age.
 Synonyma Græca. Mart.
 Rulandis.
 French Litturgy.
 Letters & billets, Garlands.
 Pomfret's Poems.
 Oughsteeds Mathematicks.
 Clark's Tutor.
 Barrows Euclid Lat.
 Virgil w'th Minellius Notes.
 Baronius's Theolog.
 Leyboneus Astronomy.
 Ovids Metamor. Cum. not. Minellis.
 Tully's Offices. Lat.
 Tullys Select Epistles.
 Salust with notes.
 Justin with notes.
 Browns use of the Triangle.
 Walkers Epicures.
 Cook's Logic.
 Greek Epigram.
 Odisworths Encyclopoedia.
 The Litturgy.
 Johnson's Mathematicks.
 Catos Works by Hood.
 The posing of the accidence.
 Duhamels Philos.
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 Osborns advice to a son.
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 The Run & Repairs of Kingdoms.
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 Latin Testament.
 Scholia or Isocrates.
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 Ovid de trisbulus.
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 Greek Testament.
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 A Brief of Concordance.
 The Duty of Man.
 Part of Bayles rec'pts.
 Virgil's Works.
 Greek Common Prayer.
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 Caesars Commentary.
 Lucius Select Dialogues
 Hesiods, Theocritus &c.
 Ravis'y Textoris.
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 Greek Gramer.
 Part of Ovid. Metamorp.
 Homer's Illiads - Gr. & Lat.
 Wats. Lat. Dictionary.
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 A vol. of Highwaymen's lives.
 Ye End Vol. of ye Dancing
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 Harnabys Rhetorick.
 Fruit Garden Calender.
 Beggars Opera.
 The fair Circasion.
 The life of John Sheppard.
 The curius Maid, a Tail.
 The Innocency of Error.
 Ye Nature of Man, a poem.
 Ye hist. of ye seige of Damascus.
 Ye victory of Cupid.
 Virginia Laws, Made in 1730 &
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CHAPTER 43.

CRITICISM.

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CHAPTER 44.

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